

This book argues for a radically new approach to the history of reading and literacy in the Middle Ages. It investigates the use of complex literary texts as the basis of elementary instruction in the Latin language and, using medieval teachers' notes (glosses) on a classical text (Horace's *Satires*) and a selection of other unpublished manuscript materials, it demonstrates that the reading of classical literature was profoundly shaped by the demands of acquiring Latin literacy through the arts of grammar and rhetoric. The resolutely literal readings of Latin texts found in these educational and institutional contexts call for a reassessment of the relationship of Latin and vernacular discourses in medieval culture, and of some central notions in medieval hermeneutics, notably allegory and authorial intention.

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Medieval Reading

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Medieval Reading

grammar, rhetoric and the classical text

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FOR ROGER
AND FOR MY PARENTS

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Abbreviations

AHDLMA	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age</i>
ASTHLS	Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science
<i>Archives</i>	<i>Archives et Documents de la Société d'histoire et d'épistémologie des sciences du langage</i>
BEPHE	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes
BGPM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
Buonocore	M. Buonocore, <i>Codices horatiani in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana</i> , Vatican City, 1992
<i>Codices horationi</i>	
BZRP	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis
CHLMP	<i>The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy</i> , eds. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny and J. Pinborg, Cambridge, 1982
CIMAGL	<i>Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age Grec et Latin</i>
Clanchy, <i>From Memory</i>	M. T. Clanchy, <i>From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307</i> , second edn, Oxford, 1993
CTC	<i>Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin</i>

Abbreviations

	<i>Translations and Commentaries</i> , ed. P. O. Kristeller, Washington DC, 1960—
ELLMA	E. R. Curtius, <i>European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages</i> , trans. W. R. Trask, London, 1953
GL	<i>Grammatici latini</i> , 7 vols. and supplement, ed. H. Keil, Leipzig, 1857–1880
HEL	<i>Histoire, Epistémologie, Langage</i>
L'Héritage	<i>L'Héritage des grammairiens latins de l'Antiquité aux Lumières</i> , ed. I. Rosier, Paris, 1988
HIC	C. H. Kneepkens, <i>Het Iudicium Constructionis: Het Leerstuk van de Constructio in 2de Heft van de 12e Eeuw</i> , Nijmegen, 1987
HL	<i>Historiographia Linguistica</i>
Holtz, Donat	L. Holtz, <i>Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammaticale: étude sur l'ars Donati et sa diffusion (ive–ixe siècle) et édition critique</i> , Paris, 1981
HTCWP	<i>A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy</i> , ed. P. D. Dronke, Cambridge, 1988
Hunt, Collected Papers	R. W. Hunt, <i>Collected Papers on the History of Grammar in the Middle Ages</i> , ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall, ASTHLS 5, Amsterdam, 1980
Hunt, Teaching and Learning	Tony Hunt, <i>Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England</i> , 3 vols., Cambridge, 1991
IG	Priscian, <i>Institutiones grammaticae</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
MKNAW	<i>Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie der Wetenschappen (Letterkunde)</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
MLTC	<i>Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition</i> , eds. A. J. Minnis, A. B. Scott with D. Wallace, Oxford, 1988
Munk Olsen, L'Etude	Birger Munk Olsen, <i>L'Etude des auteurs</i>

Abbreviations

	<i>classiques du ix^e au xii^e siècles</i> , 3 vols., Paris, 1982–1989
<i>Notices et Extraits</i>	<i>Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque du Roi / Impériale / Nationale</i> , Paris, 1787–
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844–1864
<i>PLGA</i>	<i>Philosophie du Langage et Grammaire dans l'Antiquité</i> , ed. A. Joly, Cahiers de Philosophie 5, Brussels, 1986
<i>QJS</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of Speech</i>
<i>RHT</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire des Textes</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Romance Philology</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TPAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>ZRP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie</i>

Introduction

In recent years, the shift of power to the reader has been marked. In both literary- and book-historical spheres, the role of the reader in constructing meaning out of texts is increasingly taken for granted. Whether the approach is phenomenological, deconstructive or sociological, it seems that the reader is, for the moment at least, a source of authority and a point of stability for many critical discourses.¹ All too often however, this 'reader' is a transhistorical entity, almost a hermeneutic device through which traditional literary criticism can lay claim to new ground, new readings. In this book, I try to give textual and historical substance to the terms 'reader' and 'reading'. I do not treat them as universal givens, but as strategies that can be described and analysed, which grow out of, reflect and help to shape very specific cultural practices and which are undertaken with particular aims in mind. As recent studies for the early modern period have shown, reading is always informed by context and, even more importantly, by purpose.²

My evidence for medieval reading practice is glossing, specifically glossing on Horace's *Satires* in twelfth-century manuscripts from England and Northern France.³ This context is crucial. The twelfth century saw an increase in the production of classical texts, an expansion of education, and a series of crucial debates about language, signification and interpretation. All of these are part of a gradual shift in reading itself, broadly from the ruminative *lectio* of monastic meditation to the more public, structured reading processes of the classroom. In England there are particular problems, for the linguistic legacy of the Norman Conquest is still being absorbed. It is a central aim of this book to show how all these issues bear on the reading of authoritative texts and, therefore, to offer a more specific account of the role of classical texts in twelfth-century northern European culture than is normally found under the tag 'Twelfth-Century

Renaissance'. Indeed, I argue in Chapters 2 and 12 that the glosses ask us to reframe the traditional way of thinking about the reception of classical literature in the Middle Ages – a Christian culture racked by the fear of moral corruption – by acknowledging that more local and textual issues, like literacy, are also at work.⁴

Of course, there are both historical and methodological problems to be faced in using glosses in this way, and I confront these at more length in the third part of chapter 3 ('Reading Glosses'). It is clear, for example, that this form of annotation poses a serious challenge to our prevailing notion of the 'reader', an individual with their own desires and motivations. The glosses I examine here are the traces of pedagogic discourse, of a reading undertaken by a *magister* (teacher) for his pupils and which is shaped by their needs and their level of literacy. This reading involves not two but three parties – text, teacher and pupils. Much of chapters 2 and 3 is devoted to locating this reading practice in its historical, institutional and intellectual contexts. From its origins in Alexandria, grammar (*grammatica*), the foundation of the liberal arts, provided the context for reading literature. Grammar is the art in which the skills and structures of reading the authors (*expositio auctorum*) are learned. In the twelfth century, where *grammatica* has become virtually synonymous with Latin, reading the classical *auctores* is instrumental in learning this, the language of religion, culture and knowledge. In other words, reading the authors is where what we would call linguistic and literary issues converge.

In the second part of this book, *Reading Practice*, I examine this grammatical *enarratio* of classical texts in some detail, using the scheme of medieval grammar – the letter, the syllable, the word and the phrase – to construct a taxonomy of glossing strategies and to test glossing against grammatical theory. The interaction and interdependence of linguistic theory and language pedagogy is a theme that runs throughout the book (but particularly in chapters 4, 7 and 8), and will, I hope, contribute to a more integrated picture of medieval *grammatica*. Moreover, as we move from the word through the phrase to the text, other issues that are crucial to both the literary and linguistic culture of the period recur. One is the role of the vernacular and its status. It is easy to assume that the vernacular simply acts as a key to the Latin language, but glossing practice shows that this is far from the case. Both at the level of the word (chapter 5) and the phrase (chapter 9), grammar's own expository traditions prove to be at the

Introduction

root of glossing strategies which seem initially to be indebted to vernacular structures. Another set of issues clusters around the notion of authority. How do grammarians convert the grammatical and stylistic complexities of authoritative, literary texts to linguistic use? How is literature used to learn a foreign language? Again, these questions will surface at the level of the word (chapter 6), the phrase (chapter 9) and the text (chapter 10). What happens to textual authority when the *auctores*, supposedly its guarantors, constantly overturn 'correct' grammar?

It is a central argument of this book that the reading practice we can uncover in the glosses has implications of a more theoretical kind for medieval literary culture and for the history of reading, and I explore these implications in chapters 10 and 11. The glosses' reading is profoundly intentionalist, that is to say, it privileges the notion of authorial intention over all other hermeneutic categories. This comes about because the *Satires* fulfilled a crucial demand made on texts in this period – that they be ethical – and, more importantly, fulfilled it at the literal level. Now, the literal sense and authorial intention are always allied in medieval exegetical theory, so that we have here a text that can be allowed to signify literally, that does not require conversion through allegory. However, because this is a text that uses figurative language, we have to extend and redefine what we mean by literal reading; it has to include figuration. In disciplinary terms, this means that the boundary in reading practice between grammar and rhetoric becomes impossible to sustain, since both address figurative language. Moreover, since the grammarian-expositor's use of the notion of intention effectively claims for him the authority of the poet, the boundary between gloss (grammar) and text (rhetoric) begins to dissolve. This reading impels us to rethink the sister arts of grammar and rhetoric, but, more importantly, it reveals the tensions in what has been termed the 'textuality of commentary' itself.⁵ Is it master or servant? Authority or ancillary? These are vital questions, particularly for a culture that conceived of knowledge as commentary, as reading.

PART I

Contexts for reading

Learning to read: the classics and the curriculum

Postquam alphabetum didicerit et ceteris puerilibus rudimentis imbutus fuerit, Donatum et illud moralitatis compendium quod Catonis esse vulgus opinatur addiscat, et ab Ecloga Theodoli transeat ad eglogas Bucolicorum, prelectis tamen quibusdam libellis informationi rudium necessariis. Deinde satiricos et ystoriographos legat, ut vitia etiam in minori etate addiscat esse fugienda et nobilia gesta eroum desideret imitari ... Placuit tamen viris autenticis carmina amatoria [Ovidii] ... subducenda esse a manibus adolescentium ... Gramatice daturus operam audiat et legat Barbarismum Donati et Prisciani maius volumen cum Libro constructionum ... Celestem paginam audire volens vir maturi pectoris, audiat tam Vetus Instrumentum quam Novum Testamentum.¹

‘After he has learnt the alphabet and been imbued with certain other boyish (*puerilibus*) rudiments, let him learn Donatus and that useful moral compendium which is generally believed to be the work of Cato, and from the *Eclogues* of Theodolus let him move on to the *Bucolics* [of Virgil], having first however read some shorter works which are necessary for the instruction of the unlearned. From here, let him read the satirists and the historiographers, so that at a young age he might learn that vices too are to be avoided and he might desire to imitate the noble deeds of heroes ... However, certain men of authority hold that the love poetry [of Ovid] should be kept from the hands of adolescents ... When he is about to undertake the study of grammar, let him hear and read the *Barbarismus* of Donatus along with the *Priscianus maior*, and Priscian’s book on syntax ... The man of mature understanding who wants to read the sacred text, should listen to both the Old and the New Testament.

Alexander Nequam, *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*, end of the twelfth century.

In this passage (in reality a conflation of passages from several folios of the manuscript), the English polymath Alexander Nequam pro-

poses what we might term an anthropology of reading, where there is a direct correlation between stage of life, reading ability and the kind of text that it is permissible to read. It is, of course, a resolutely masculine anthropology, where boyhood (*pueritia*) demands a mastery of the alphabet, other linguistic rudiments and a wide range of Latin texts (which I shall discuss in more detail below), where adolescence (*adolescentia*) finds the learner only too susceptible to the seductions of pagan letters, and where mature manhood alone fits him to study the written texts of God's revelation. This attempt to merge moral and educational competence is, of course, a typically humanistic gesture and it will resurface regularly, in various forms, throughout this book.² But we should not let its superficial familiarity, nor the ease with which it moves from the alphabet to the Bible, blind us to its rather striking implications.

These become clearer if we look at the passage in more detail. The *puer* first learns the alphabet, that is to say, he learns to recognise letter forms visually and to voice the correct noise to go with them, for, as John of Salisbury remarks in the *Metalogicon*, 'letters, that is to say shapes, are primarily the signs of sounds' (*littere autem, idest figure, primum vocum indices sunt*).³ For the later Middle Ages, particularly for the fifteenth century, we have a fair amount of iconographic and archaeological evidence for how children undertook this task. Danièle Alexandre-Bidon has amply demonstrated how the most ephemeral household object – a bowl, for example – could be brought into the service of acquiring literacy; decorated with letters, and in daily use, it becomes a way of familiarising the child with the basic currency of written language.⁴ Of course, this penetration of the alphabet into the details of daily life is in itself an important indication of the increased literacy of the laity in the later Middle Ages.⁵ In the sixteenth century, the horn book becomes the most common way to learn the alphabet, the syllables and the paternoster, but for our period, such material evidence is, perhaps inevitably, extremely rare. A thirteenth-century window in Chartres depicts Saint Lubin receiving from a monk a belt studded with the letters of the alphabet so that he might learn to read, but there are few other such representations.⁶ Moreover, it is crucial to realise that the alphabet the *puer* learns is not the alphabet of the mother-tongue – French or English – but the alphabet of Latin. In other words, even at its very earliest stages, learning to read means learning to read a foreign language. This has the most profound effect on the reading practice I analyse in

this book; indeed, it could be said to be the most important element in understanding the forms, processes and even personnel of that reading.

What then are the 'boyish rudiments' (*puerilia rudimenta*) that Nequam refers to next? In *From Memory to Written Record*, Michael Clanchy recounts an *exemplum* from the sermon collection of Jacques de Vitry (who died in 1240), which gives us a clue to the next stage in learning to read. A cleric in the choir of a church sees a devil weighed down by a heavy sack; the devil reveals that his burden is made up of the syllables mispronounced by the choir. These mispronunciations are a kind of vocal sin and, so the devil explains, mean that the choir have in effect stolen the prayers from God. In other words, what the *puer* learnt next was correct pronunciation so that he might be able to voice correctly the Latin words of the divine office. This is a correctness that extends from the linguistic into the spiritual sphere. At the most basic level, learning to pronounce meant combining letters into syllables and using the sound of those syllables to voice some fundamental religious material – the paternoster and the Creed, and perhaps, like Chaucer's 'litel clergeon' in the Prioress' tale, the Ave Maria.⁷ Sometimes the Psalter itself was used to teach the syllables, and those who had achieved a minimal form of acquaintance with Latin were called *psalterati*. John of Salisbury for example, writes, *Dum enim puer ut Psalmos addiscerem/Sacerdoti traditus essem* ('When I was a boy, I was taken to the priest so that I might learn the Psalter').⁸ The Psalter was recommended as a text to be learnt by heart by authors as important and influential as Jerome, Gregory the Great and Anselm, and it seems likely that it was text from which the syllables were learnt.⁹ This claim is customarily reinforced by a note in a Psalter which belonged to Saint Louis of France: *Cist psaultiers fu monseigneur Saint Loys qui fu roys de France, auquel il apprit en s'enfance* ('this Psalter belonged to Saint Louis of France, from which he learnt in his childhood').¹⁰ Moreover, the Psalter was subject to word for word interlinear translation into Old French and Anglo-Saxon, and this betrays a strong dependence on the vernacular in the learning of the Psalter which suggests that it intervened at an early stage in the process of learning to read. The state of knowledge as it stands is summarised as follows by Nicholas Orme: 'Boys in school began by learning the Latin alphabet ... Next, they practised how to recognise Latin words, pronounce them, and sing them to the rules of plainsong. Liturgical books were used for

this purpose, like the psalter and the antiphonal, in which the letters were written large and separately and therefore easy to read.¹¹

It is significant that the young student can therefore come to the point of reciting parts of the sacred page of the Bible without fully understanding them, for the most elementary Latin grammar, the *Ars minor* of Donatus, comes after these rudiments.¹² That is not to say that the *rudimenta* contained no instruction in Latin vocabulary at all, but it does seem certain that the emphasis of the training was primarily phonological. Indeed, this proved a cause of concern for some scholars in the twelfth century. Peter Damian talks of those who read without understanding and who babble the text, syllable by syllable (*syllabatim ... balbutiant*).¹³ But with the mention of Donatus, teacher of St Jerome, we move beyond this level of uncomprehending reiteration. The *Ars minor*, which has been called the most successful textbook in the history of Western culture, takes the learner into the realm of case, declension and conjugation. The treatment of the noun *sacerdos* ('priest') demonstrates the method:

Sacerdos nomen appellativum generis communis numeri singularis figurae compositae casus nominativi et vocativi, quod declinabitur sic: nominativo hic et haec sacerdos, genitivo huius sacerdos, dativo huic sacerdoti ...¹⁴

[*Sacerdos* is a common noun, of common gender, singular in number, composite in form, in the nominative and vocative case, which is declined as follows: in the nominative, *hic et haec sacerdos*, in the genitive *huius sacerdotis*, in the dative, *huic sacerdoti*. .]

The *Ars minor* provided the basis for instruction in Latin from the fourth until at least the fifteenth century (there were 340 printed editions from 1450 to 1500 alone), and, as the work of Brian Merilees has so clearly demonstrated, it also formed the model for the earliest grammars of French.¹⁵ While, at the higher levels of grammatical inquiry, trends and fashions came and went, Donatus' *Ars minor* remained the foundation of the entire discipline. Its question and answer format had obvious pedagogic potential, and it provided exactly the right kind of information for the *puer* – information on the inflections of the parts of speech.

If Donatus was the basic grammar of Latin, Nequam's next text, the *Disticha* of Cato, was the basic grammar of pragmatic morality.¹⁶ This 'third-century collection of moral and philosophical maxims which was gradually adapted to the ethical and doctrinal desiderata of

Learning to read: the classics and the curriculum

Christianity', to quote Tony Hunt, was translated into the vernacular (Anglo-Norman), and enjoyed immense popularity.¹⁷ The second couplet gives a representative taste of its flavour

Plus vigila semper nec somno deditus esto;
nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat¹⁸

[Always devote yourself more to waking than sleeping,/since long repose gives nourishment to the vices.]

Such was the utility of this text that it became the focus for the so-called *Liber catonianus*, a flexible grouping of texts found in several thirteenth-century manuscripts which were used for elementary pedagogic purposes.¹⁹ One of these texts was the tenth-century *Eclogues* of Theodolus, a debate between Truth (Alithia) and Falsehood (Pseustis) on the relative merits of Christianity and paganism, which Nequam mentions next.²⁰

At this point, the curriculum shifts to the pagan authors of ancient Rome. The student proceeds to the study of Statius, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal and Horace, grouped together as satirists and historiographers, both terms designed to reassure the medieval reading community of their moral standing.²¹ Soon afterwards, and with several predictable caveats, Ovid is recommended.²² It is only after the completion of this wide-ranging course on Latin literature that the learner returns to texts dealing with the technicalities of Latin grammar itself. Here Nequam recommends Donatus' *Barbarismus* (on the figures and tropes), Priscian's teaching on the parts of speech and syntax in both his *Institutiones grammaticae* and his *Partitiones*, and works on meter: *Gramatice daturus operam audiat et legat Barbarismum Donati et Prisciani maius volumen cum Libro constructionum*.²³ This description of the grammatical curriculum leaves no room for doubt; literary authors, and principally classical authors, were an essential part of grammatical instruction, of instruction in the earlier stages of learning Latin.

This pedagogic practice – often mentioned but rarely explored – constitutes the sphere of inquiry for this book.²⁴ If classical *auctores* are an instrumental part of learning Latin, what precisely does it mean that students 'read' them? How does this affect our notion of what medieval reading was? And how far was that reading shaped by the discipline – *grammatica* – of which it appears to be an integral part? The question also needs to be asked in reverse: what does this reading

Medieval reading

practice mean for how we think about *grammatica* itself, the foundation of medieval textual culture?²⁵

However, before we go on to look at these more general questions in the next chapter, I want to spend some time delineating more precisely the *fortuna* and role of Horace's *Satires*, the classical text which forms the focus of this study. Consider the following statement, taken from an *accessus* to Horace in a Vatican manuscript (MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1780 (R)) whose glossing is central to my arguments about reading and the curriculum:

Quedam enim sciuntur ut sciantur sicut evangelia, quedam propter aliud, ut auctores.

[Moreover some things, like the Gospels, are known for their own sake, [whereas] others, like the authors, [are known] for the sake of something else.]²⁶

Here we have a perfect illustration of the pragmatic, highly directed approach to the reading of authoritative texts which, I shall argue, characterises the nature of the classical *auctor's* role in medieval *grammatica*. Whereas the study of the Scriptures is an end in itself and requires no further justification, the study of the *auctores* is fundamentally ancillary; it has what might be termed instrumental status. It is done with a certain end in view – achieving literacy – and is important in so far as it helps to achieve that end. This is not to say that the reading and study of classical authors like Horace was unimportant, but it is to qualify one view of the medieval reception of ancient texts, in which Horace, Ovid and Virgil are cherished for their own sakes as the representatives of a treasured cultural heritage. In some cases, this view is valid. For example, in the early twelfth century, William of Malmesbury's extensive copying and collecting of ancient texts is a truly scholarly activity, and it is probably safe to say that in the second half of the century, John of Salisbury demonstrates a classical learning of some breadth. Both are *litteratus* ('literate') in the fullest, Roman sense.²⁷ But these are the exceptions. In most cases, contact with classical texts is 'for the sake of something else' (*propter aliud*), and it is the aim of this book to discuss the nature and purpose of that contact.

Glossing on the *Satires* of Horace provides the perfect forum in which to explore these issues. Horace's works in general enjoyed a stable transmission throughout the Middle Ages, and this stability allows for the development of an unbroken tradition of Horatian

scholarship and commentary, activities which are crucial in establishing Horace's status as an *auctor*.²⁸ The earliest evidence we have of an exegetical interest in Horace comes in the form of a *vita* in the second-century *De viris illustribus* of Suetonius.²⁹ Here the essential details of Horace's humble background and adoption by the influential patron Maecenas are set out, but the *vita* also establishes the poet's rather ambiguous moral status that medieval commentators were forced constantly to negotiate. For example, Horace's sexual *mores* are described with some relish, particularly the mirrored chamber in which he liked to make love to his conquests.³⁰ Some details of this *vita* were preserved and transmitted as part of the Late Antique commentaries which go under the names of Pomponius Porphyrius and Pseudo-Acron.³¹ Porphyrius's commentary (early third century) is more interested in the lyrical works than the *Satires* and is rarely used by later glossators of Horace, for it consists largely of paraphrase and the citing of Greek sources and technical terms.³² On the other hand, the so-called Pseudo-Acronian commentary, in reality a rather random accretion of several layers of exegetical material, does have more impact on the medieval reception of Horace, although it is used principally in the matter of vocabulary derived from Greek and technical terminology.³³ Even though neither of these commentaries shapes significantly the glossing on Horace that occurs within *grammatica*'s sphere (the mythological and historical information they transmit does surface from time to time), these commentaries have received far more scholarly attention than the glosses which address the needs of particular medieval audiences, the 'instrumental' glosses I examine here.³⁴ The same is true of the commentaries edited by Botschuyver in the 1930s and 1940s; largely unrepresentative of the vast majority of Horace glossing, these commentaries, whose origins are still much disputed, diverted attention away from the more pedagogic and grammatical Horace in whom we are interested here.³⁵

Whatever its precise origins and diffusions, all this material attests to a persistent exegetical tradition stretching uninterrupted from Antiquity to the eleventh century. It is the continuity and stability of this tradition which provides the basis for a significant expansion in the number of copies of and commentaries upon Horace produced in the twelfth century; interestingly, the copying of the Antique scholia declined sharply in the same period. In a very recent estimate, Birger Munk Olsen put the number of surviving twelfth-century copies of

the *Satires* at 82, with 145 survivals of this text from the eleventh and twelfth centuries combined. This compares with 65 twelfth-century survivals of the *Aeneid*.³⁶ Of course, it is possible to argue from this very high level of copies that they were little used, but the evidence of the manuscripts themselves points to the opposite conclusion. All of the manuscripts discussed in this book are not only glossed, but worn, thumbed, demonstrably used.

The weight of codicological evidence suggesting that Horace was one of the most widely read *auctores* of the age is reinforced by the way he is cited in a wide range of medieval texts and by his repeated inclusion in texts which recommend reading for the student of Latin. In an important recent article for example, Christopher McDonough has demonstrated how the satire on legacy hunters (*Satires* II, 5) forms the basis for one of the so-called 'Primas' poems in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 109; elsewhere, the commentary tradition of the *Art of Poetry* has been isolated as the foundation for the *artes poetriae* of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (I discuss these texts below).³⁷ In Aimeric's *Ars lectoria ecclesiae* (1086), Horace is one of the first rank of 'golden' authors, along with Terence, Virgil, Ovid, Sallust, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal and Persius.³⁸ The *discipulus* in Conrad of Hirsau's *Dialogus super auctores* (early twelfth century) is eager for information on Horace and his question is framed in order to embrace the double aspect of the Horatian corpus: Horace is called both *liricus* (as the author of the *Odes*, the *Liber Epodon* and the *Carmen seculare*), and *acutissimus* (as the author of the more openly didactic works, the *Satires*, the *Epistles* and the *Art of Poetry*). Using a weaning metaphor which recalls Nequam's anthropology of reading, the *magister* in the dialogue agrees that Horace provides a useful stage in the education of students before they move onto the solid food of the holy Scriptures.³⁹ But Conrad's anxiety about Horace is clear. He spends much of his time discussing the morally neutral *Art of Poetry* and is obviously embarrassed by the traditional portrayal of Horace's lack of personal morality. The scurrilous incidents recorded in the *Satires* are hastily explained to the *discipulus* as Horace's careful recording of vices, rather than evidence of the corrupted nature of the *auctor* himself.⁴⁰ The text becomes a series of examples of what not to do, and continues to be recommended in these terms throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴¹

In this way, the *Satires* are made to conform to a central demand

made upon classical, and indeed all literary texts in this period, that they be classifiable under the ethical branch of philosophy. This classification takes place under the *accessus* question *cui parti philosophiae subponitur?* ('under which part of philosophy does it come?'), which entailed the reply *ethice subponitur* ('it comes under ethics').⁴² Even texts as salacious as Ovid's *Art of Love* had to be squared with this idea. In the words of one glossator, the *Art of Love* 'pertains to ethics because it speaks of the behaviour of young girls, that is the sort of morals they should have and how [these morals] might be retained' (*Ethicae subponitur, quia de moribus puellarum loquitur, id est quos mores habeant, quibus modis retineri valeant*).⁴³ Commentators were pushed to these lengths because texts needed to have their ethical credentials established if they were to have authority (*auctoritas*).⁴⁴ One might even say that being *ethicus* is a necessary qualification for being an author (an *auctor*) at all.⁴⁵

It took no particular ingenuity to fit Horace's *Satires* into this taxonomy. Even their medieval title – the *Sermones* – demonstrated their moral utility.⁴⁶ This utility is further attested by their frequent citation in the ethical compilation associated with William of Conches, the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*.⁴⁷ One glossator of Ovid writes that the subject matter of the satirists Horace and Juvenal is both *vera* ('true') and *moralis* ('moral') because 'they truthfully reprehend bad conduct' (*veraciter malos mores reprehendunt*) and it is this conviction that underwrites Alexander Nequam's recommendation for reading the satirists and the historians (Statius, Lucan, Juvenal, Persius and Horace): *satiricos et ystoriographos legat, ut vitia etiam in minori etate addiscat esse fugienda et nobilia gesta eroum desideret imitari* ('let him read the satirists and the historians, so that at a young age he might learn that vices too are to be avoided and he might desire to imitate the noble deeds of heroes').⁴⁸

With some texts, of course, glossators had to resort to allegory to fulfill the ethical imperative. Arnulf of Orléans attributed an entirely moral purpose to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, by stating that the mutation of bodies in the text demonstrates changes in spirit, and that those changes bring us back to God, 'inviting us to follow reason and to maintain the soul in its original form by keeping it clear of vice'.⁴⁹ However, this allegorical approach to texts is hardly appropriate for students working at the level of basic literacy, or, to put it in hermeneutic terms, reading the text literally. Here again, the *Satires* prove their pedagogic worth. Without wishing to prejudge the issues

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I explore much more fully in chapters 10 and 11 below, it is important to note that medieval conceptions of satire stressed its reprehension of vice and the fact that it effects this reprehension at the literal level. In other words, there is no need for complex allegorical manoeuvres to render the text morally acceptable. Now, learners of Latin were of course concerned with the *littera* of the text, the literal level, for to be able to understand literal meanings in Latin is the goal of medieval grammatical instruction. Texts like Horace's *Satires*, whose letter might simultaneously serve as a field of grammatical practice and moral edification, were eagerly seized upon and copiously glossed by the *magistri* of the twelfth-century schools.

Reading and the trivium arts

Dicitur autem gramatica [sic] a gramaton quod interpretatur literalis et gramaton a grama que est linea. Fiunt enim littere secundum protractionem linearum. Dicitur ergo hec ars gramatica, idest literalis, quia litera[li]ter efficit, vel quia agit de litteris, non quia ubique sed quia in eius principio et tota eius doctrina surgit a litteris. Sicut dicitur liber genesis, non quia ubique agatur de generatione mundi sed tantum in principio.¹

Gramatica thus derives its name from the word *gramaton* which means 'literal' and *gramaton* is itself derived from the word *grama* which means 'line'. For letters are indeed formed through the extension of lines. Therefore this art is called *gramatica*, which means to do with letters, because it does its work literally, or because it treats of letters. Not however that it does this everywhere, but because in its initial stages it treats of letters, and because the whole of its teaching arises from letters. Just as the Book of Genesis is not so called because the creation of the world is treated throughout, but because it deals with this in the very first part. From the *Circa hanc artem*, anonymous Priscian commentary, third quarter of the twelfth century

I. GRAMMAR, RHETORIC AND READING

The letter is the foundation of *grammatica*. It is the basis of language and of the art, for parts of grammar and the parts of language are identical: the letter (*littera*), the syllable (*syllaba*), the word (*dictio*) and the phrase (*oratio*).² Syllables are produced through the combination of letters, words through the combination of syllables and phrases through the combination of words. Grammar teaches us to do this correctly: *Finis huius artis est ut sciamus componere litteras in sillabam, sillabas in dictiones, dictiones in orationem* ('the aim of this

art is that we might know how to combine letters into a syllable, syllables into words, and words into a phrase').³

This scheme forms the structure of this book. It is the fundamental map of twelfth-century *grammatica* and the unwritten structure of Nequam's programme, which starts with the alphabet (the letters) and works through to texts. All four stages are characterised by an emphasis on correctness: *grammatica igitur est scientia gnara recte scribendi et recte loquendi* ('moreover, grammar is the skillful art of speaking and writing correctly').⁴ The author of the *Circa hanc artem* gives concrete force to this notion, and, drawing on Martianus Capella's personification of *Grammatica* in the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, describes the art in striking terms:

Inter quas [i.e. artes liberales] gramatica quibusdam stabat insignita gestantibus. Dextra scalparum eneam gerebat, ut dentium exstanciam resecaret, linguarum albucientium vitiliginis abraderet, sordes oris et vitia purgaret. Leva ferula, ut puerilis ingenii tarditatem argueret, madide memorie obliviam corripere, maledicta puniret, inobedienciam vindicaret.⁵

[Among the Liberal Arts stood Grammar, emblazoned by several attributes. In the right hand, she carried a pail of knives in order to cut back protruding teeth, scrape off the vitiliginous whiteness from the tongues and purge the filth and vices of the mouth. In her left hand, [there was] a rod to censure the stupidity of the boyish intellect, to correct the forgetfulnesses of a moist memory, punish bad language and chastise disobedience.]

Grammatica's staff or rod is her most consistent attribute, an embodiment of her corrective function (it sometimes takes the form of a bunch of twigs).⁶ In this example, the cleansing of the tongue and mouth and the trimming of the teeth form a vivid metaphor for grammar's work in correcting pronunciation, and the author brings this passage to a close with the words: *Hic satis alludit illa descriptione. Grammatica est ars gnara recte scribendi et recte scripta pronunciandi* ('Enough of this description. Grammar is the skillful art of writing correctly and pronouncing correctly that which is written').⁷

In fact, grammar's entire value system is built upon the notion of correctness, but when we come to look at grammatical reading practice, this foundation is put under serious strain. We can see this very clearly in John of Salisbury's famous description of Bernard of

Chartres' grammar classes ('On the Practice and Habit of Reading and Exposition of Bernard of Chartres and his Followers') in the *Metalogicon*, which reveals a profound paradox within the art. If grammar involves reading the *auctores*, as we know it does, the linguistic vices of those authors must be addressed. Bernard reads the texts *non tamen ut poetas improbet quibus ob metri necessitatem adeo ignoscitur, ut vitia virtutum nomine censeatur* ('not, however in order to disapprove of those things in the poets which are forgiven on the grounds of metrical necessity, as when vices are given the name of virtues'). It seems that reading demands a more pragmatic approach to correctness, in which the *auctor's* mistakes are not necessarily censured. Similarly, it is clear that Bernard looked closely at both standard and figurative usage, usage *a proprietate* and usage *a translatione*.⁸ In other words, the practice of reading extends grammatical inquiry beyond correctness, and into a sphere where linguistic vice is not only permissible, but can be converted into stylistic virtue.

There are also disciplinary ramifications in this situation, for the study of the figurative usage belongs not only to grammar but to rhetoric, to the composition of texts. If we return to Martianus' influential personifications, the overlap is pronounced. In book V of the *De Nuptiis*, which Thierry of Chartres included in his rhetorical curriculum, *Rhetorica* asserts that one of her five parts, Style (*elocutio*) 'chooses words that are proper or figurative' (*arripit verba vel propria vel translata*), and goes on to examine the tropes (*translata verba*) that are also part of the grammatical tradition.⁹ What distinguishes the two arts is their approach to figuration, for while grammar offers an explanation of its mechanisms, rhetoric is concerned to harness its effects in the work of persuasion. Rhetoric, the woman 'with the golden voice' (*auratae vocis*) can *impellere quo vellet et unde vellet deducere et in lacrimas flectere et in rabiem concitare* ('drive [anyone] where she wanted and draw them back from where she wanted, and sway them to tears and whip them into a frenzy').¹⁰ Whereas Bernard of Chartres' reading procedure is to isolate, analyse and categorise figures, rhetoric is concerned with their affective capacity.

We have in these accounts a strong suggestion that the relationship of authoritative text and grammatical inquiry is not as straightforward as Nequam, for one, would like us to think. On the one hand, grammar's concern with correctness is inevitably compromised by the

auctores' usage, and on the other, the boundary between grammar and her sister discipline rhetoric seems very unclear, for both have a claim to the figurative language which characterises the *auctores'* texts. Both of these problems have a very long history.

Grammar's use of literary texts begins in the library at Alexandria in the third century BC. Under the guardianship of Aristarchus, literary texts, particularly Homeric ones, were collected, collated and their variants noted. Inevitably, Alexandrian scholarship was forced to consider what represented the 'correct' version. This led to the development of the recension method for establishing a text's history, but also to the notion of grammatical propriety, a linguistic benchmark against which to judge texts.¹¹ Grammatical rules were needed, and it is no accident that one of the oldest surviving grammatical treatises may have been written in the second century BC by a pupil of Aristarchus, Dionysius Thrax.¹² Grammar as a *technē*, a discipline with its own set of rules and practices, seems to have evolved out of the study of literary texts and owes its existence to the perception of a need to preserve, classify and correct them. Dionysius' definition of grammar – 'the practical study of the normal usages of poets and prose writers' – which was transmitted into the Latin tradition by Sextus Empiricus, has six parts: prosody (the rules for reading aloud correctly), the exegesis of the tropes, the examination of diction and content, the study of etymologies, the study of analogies and, lastly, criticism.¹³ As Martin Irvine points out, analogy is what we would recognise as formal grammar: 'A systematic treatment of literary language required a method for accounting for grammatical regularities and rules for inflection and declension. The remaining sections of Dionysius' treatise represent just such an account of classical Greek grammar.'¹⁴ In other words, grammar as a technical art is generated out of the literary text.

In the Latin tradition, the relationship of grammar and literature became increasingly complex. Quintilian, writing in first century Rome, asserted with aphoristic ease that grammar *in duas partes dividatur, recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem* ('[grammar] is divided into two parts, the science of speaking correctly and the reading of the poets'), but this statement, where the words *enarratio* ('expository reading') and *recte* ('correctly') perpetuate the Alexandrian conjunction of literary and formal grammatical concerns, attempts to smooth over some fundamental problems.¹⁵ One of the most important of these is the confusion over the

respective roles of grammar and rhetoric that we have already encountered, a confusion that centres precisely on how each discipline uses literary texts.¹⁶ For the purpose of this discussion, it is useful to divide this use into three main areas. First we have the practice of textual paraphrase, a propaedeutic activity taught by both grammarians and rhetors in Greek and Roman Antiquity.¹⁷ Secondly, we have the application of rhetorical frameworks to texts as part of exposition, and thirdly, we have the teaching of the figures and tropes, to which, as we have seen, both grammar and rhetoric laid claim. To start with the paraphrase. In grammatical contexts, it took the form of rewriting of the text in a more understandable form, with both syntax and vocabulary simplified; in this way, the *puer* showed that he had understood the text's basic meaning.¹⁸ On the other hand, the aim of the elementary rhetorical paraphrase was to instruct in the ways of embellishment and stylistic ornamentation; the *puer* was to gain a sense of the text's style.¹⁹ The most obvious example of the second interaction, that is to say, using rhetorical frameworks in exegesis, can be seen in the early medieval practice (most notably of Rémi of Auxerre) of offering the seven rhetorical *circumstantiae* as the terms of the introduction to the authors (*accessus ad auctores*).²⁰ The seven terms are *quis, quid, cur, quomodo, quando, ubi, quibus facultatibus*, translated by Copeland as 'who, what, why, in what way, when, where, with what means'.²¹ These were applied to works as diverse as Martianus *De nuptiis* and Horace's *Odes*.²² By the twelfth century, this form was considered to be extremely archaic, but I shall argue in chapters 10 and 11 of this book that the prologues and glosses of the *moderni*, primarily through the notion of authorial intention, act like the *circumstantiae* to erode the boundary between commentary and text, grammar and rhetoric.²³

Those chapters will be devoted to the teaching of the figures and tropes, which represents the third, most obvious and most troubled intersection of the two disciplines.²⁴ One of the five parts of rhetoric was *elocutio* (style), the use of certain linguistic features to adorn or embellish the oration and enhance its persuasive powers. On the other hand, the *auctores* used these features constantly in their work, so that the grammarian was forced to confront them in the process of *enarratio*. This creates two problems, the first of which is internal to grammar and its concern with correctness. Many of the linguistic features so dear to the rhetorician or to the poet were considered to be faults from a formal grammatical point of view; grammar's linking

of the poets and correct usage becomes, in that respect, untenable. There is, of course, a way round this. The faults occur either at the level of the word (barbarisms: *barbarismi*) or at the level of the combination of words (solecisms: *soloeismi*), and grammarians and rhetoricians agreed that it was part of the grammarian's task to warn against these faults.²⁵ However, if they were found in poetry, they became acceptable on the grounds of metre or ornamentation, and earned new names: figures (*metaplasmi* and *schemata*) and tropes (*tropi*). It was the authority of the utterer – *puer* or poet – that determined whether using the 'wrong' case was a grammatical error or a stylistic embellishment.²⁶

It is at this point that the second problem – the boundary with rhetoric – begins to emerge. In practice, grammarians not only warned against defects but taught their counterparts, the figures and tropes that were essential elements of *elocutio*. In the course of *enarratio*, grammarians became the arbiters of the acceptability of certain features which were peculiar to literary texts, and grammar therefore encroached into the essentially rhetorical preserve of style.²⁷ The tropes provide an interesting example of the sorts of negotiation between the disciplines that grammatical reading of the authors engendered. In both traditions tropes are generically defined as those instances of words meaning something other than their accustomed sense, but with an element of similarity controlling the transfer of sense: *Tropus est dictio translata a propria significatione ad non propriam similitudinem ornatus necessitatisve causa* ('a trope is a word carried over from its proper meaning to another which is similar but not its proper one, for the reason of necessity or elegance').²⁸ However, rhetoricians like Quintilian work hard to maintain some kind of distinction between the two arts. For example, he makes it clear that grammatical debates on the number, kinds and species of the tropes are of no interest to the orator; what concerns him is the oratorical application of the tropes as part of the affective work of persuasion (*in usum*).²⁹ The disciplines are distinct at the level of function, if not at the level of subject-matter, and thus Quintilian seeks to reinforce grammar's preparatory, subservient status.³⁰

Reading the poets (*enarratio*), whether in the form of paraphrase, the *accessus* or the study of figurative language, was the site of what we might term a disciplinary contest between grammar and rhetoric, a contest for privileged access to the *auctores*. For rhetoric, the reading

of authoritative texts had the aim of 'producing discourse', while, for grammar, understanding what had already been written was the means of ensuring competence in the Latin language itself. But, as we have seen, the two cannot be so easily separated. If texts were to be explained, then their most difficult, that is to say, their most poetic aspects would need to be examined, and grammar was forced to address the issue of style. Moreover, in what Rita Copeland terms the 'rhetorical character of academic commentary', we find a more active appropriation by grammar of rhetoric's strategies. I explore this appropriation more fully in chapters 10 and 11 of this book, but it is important to note immediately that since the production and embellishment of discourse was thought to be generated out by the rhetorical structures of *inventio* and *elocutio*, and, since grammatical *enarratio* aimed at a recovery of the author's intention, grammar inevitably described and judged what it perceived to be the rhetorical features of the work as part of its explanatory tactics.³¹

How are these concerns played out in the Middle Ages? In the first place, we have the material issue of the texts which survived and which came to constitute the basis for reflection on these issues. As we saw in Nequam's curriculum, the third part of Donatus' *Ars maior*, known as the *Barbarismus*, circulated independently of the rest of the treatise. This was the authoritative text in the treatment of defects, metaplasms and figures, commented upon by grammarians as historically and doctrinally diverse as Remi of Auxerre, writing in the ninth century and Robert Kilwardby, working in the early university era of the mid-thirteenth century.³² Donatus' treatment of the tropes was closely followed not only by his commentators, but also by Isidore of Seville, who examined them, in the section of the *Etymologiae* which deals with *grammatica*.³³ Similarly, Bede conceived of his *De schematibus et tropis* as one of a series of grammatical works, following on from the *De arte metrica*.³⁴ The rhetorical tradition persists in parallel, most notably in treatment of the tropes in the fourth book of the *Ad Herennium*. This text, still believed in the twelfth century to be the work of Cicero, was commented on by scholars as renowned as Thierry of Chartres and was the backbone of the rhetorical curriculum in the trivium.³⁵ In insular contexts, there is also a non-Donatian tradition for thinking about figurative language in *grammatica* which has been admirably explored by Martin Irvine. Diomedes, who wrote his *Ars grammatica* in the second half of the fourth century, explicitly divided grammar into an exegetical

(*exegetice*) and a technical (*horistice*) part: *exegetice est enarrativa, quae pertinet ad officia lectionis, horistice est finitiva, quae praecepta demonstrat ... tota autem grammatica consistit praecipue intellectu poetarum et scriptorum et historiarum prompta expositione et in recte loquendi scribendique ratione* ('Exegetical grammar is to do with exposition, which belongs to the work of reading; technical grammar to do with definition, which demonstrates rules ... the whole of grammar consists chiefly in the understanding and ready exposition of the poets and [prose] writings and histories, and in the rules for speaking and writing correctly').³⁶ However, from the ninth century onwards, his treatise tended to be usurped by the *Institutiones grammaticae* of Priscian, the cornerstone of the later part of Nequam's grammatical curriculum.³⁷

Priscian's *Institutiones* moves us on to the issues that inform *enarratio* in the later Middle Ages, for here we start to see some real similarities with the cultural context that forms the focus of this book, England and Northern France in the twelfth century. Priscian wrote his encyclopaedic grammar in early sixth-century Constantinople for native Greek speakers: it was a foreign language grammar. It was also a grammar which used an enormous amount of illustrative quotation from classical Latin literature, particularly the *Aeneid*. These quotations exemplify grammar's problematic status with regard to figurative language, for they are used to illustrate both correct usage and to show figurative departures from that correctness.³⁸ In order to circumvent this problem, Priscian was forced to posit a distinction between 'surface' grammar and 'real' grammar, what the author actually says (surface) and what the author means.³⁹ Even though the surface may appear wrong, grammaticality can be detected at the deeper level, in the author's meaning. Of course, this has the important corollary of enhancing the value of exegesis or *enarratio* itself, since it is the only way to reach this meaning, but Priscian's examples also demonstrate the difficulties inherent in using literary works, composed five hundred years previously, as the basis of correct language. These difficulties only intensify as the historical distance between ancient text and medieval reader increases, but the double aspect of grammar continued, partly through the persistent copying of and commentary upon Priscian and his countless literary examples, and partly because the idea that the Roman authors embodied standards of correctness was never abandoned.⁴⁰ For example, Donatus uses his own examples in the very elementary *Ars*

minor, where the declension and conjugation of the parts of speech are the central concern, but turns to Virgil for illustrations of the figures and tropes in the *Barbarismus*. Although Bede attempted to Christianize *grammatica* by replacing Virgilian with Biblical examples, the more general effect of his work was not to replace pagan examples with Christian ones, but to expand the range of texts from which grammarians drew their illustrative quotations.⁴¹ Thus by the twelfth century, classical literature's role as the storehouse of illustrative examples was shared by the Vulgate and also by examples of the grammarian's own invention.⁴²

Examples of each kind are subjected to a kind of mini-*enarratio* as part of the grammarian's argumentation, and this practice represents the most obvious way in which the grammatical and literary discourses are made to interact in the twelfth century. In fact, the role of examples from classical texts helps us to chart the history of *grammatica* itself in this, one of its most innovative phases.⁴³ For example, the earliest texts known to us from this period are the so-called *Glosule*, the *Nota dunelmenses* and the text attributed to Abelard's master, William of Champeaux.⁴⁴ These texts have a distinctly logical bias and spurn the use of literary examples, because, as we have seen, the *auctores* do not conform to the rules. These grammarians prefer their own examples, which do conform. The next phase of *grammatica* is known to us through the work of William of Conches, strongly associated with the so-called School of Chartres.⁴⁵ William's commentaries on Priscian are of profound importance for two reasons.⁴⁶ In the first place, it seems likely that he was the first grammarian to articulate explicitly the need to go beyond Priscian and seek the 'causes' (*cause*) of linguistic phenomena, such as the accidents of the parts of speech.⁴⁷ Secondly, many of his doctrines were widely disseminated through the immensely influential *Summa super Priscianum* of Peter Helias, written in the 1140s.⁴⁸ The principal achievement of this text was to disentangle grammar from logic and to recognise the need for an independent grammatical terminology. As a direct result of this separation, Peter Helias is able to perpetuate the central role of literary and biblical examples in grammatical argumentation. So, while it is true that he often merely follows Priscian in his use of these examples, he also quotes independently from Virgil, Persius, Juvenal and Horace along with the Pauline Epistles.⁴⁹

The period after Peter Helias sees a great variety of grammatical investigation. Some texts (notably those associated with Gilbert of

Poitiers) are avowedly theological and philosophical in orientation, and use Aristotle, Boethius and Priscian himself for doctrinal reinforcement while inventing their own, logically coherent examples.⁵⁰ Other texts focus on the study of syntax, probably the most important contribution made to grammar in the twelfth century. Peter Hispanus' *Absoluta* commentary on the *Priscianus minor*, Robert Blund's *Summa in arte grammatica* and Robert of Paris' *Breve sit* all use a wealth of illustrative quotation.⁵¹ The *Absoluta* demonstrates points of usage by citing the Psalms, the New Testament, Boethius and Aristotle's *Topics*, while Robert Blund uses the texts of the *De divisionibus*, *De consolatione philosophiae* and *De syllogismorum categoriis* of Boethius, a great deal of Horace, Lucan, Ovid, Terence, Statius, Virgil and the Bible, all in an illustrative capacity; Robert of Paris' *Breve sit* matches this breadth of reference. But perhaps the most important group of texts for our purposes are those grouped by Richard Hunt under the aegis of the School of Ralph of Beauvais, a school defined precisely by the dominance of literary texts in its analyses.⁵² Copies of Ralph's works can be traced to Waltham Abbey, Christ Church Canterbury, Rochester and Evesham in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.⁵³ In his *Liber Tytan*, which until Hunt's pioneering work was classified as a commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the order in which the very pragmatic grammatical points are presented is entirely dependent on the order in which they occur in the text of Ovid and then of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The *Liber Tytan* is part technical grammar, part commentary, and uses the difficulties and oddities in the literary works as the starting-points for the explanation of Latin morphology and syntax.⁵⁴ Here the *auctores* provide the occasion for grammatical interests; they are very obviously read *propter aliud*.

In many ways, rhetoric follows similar paths. For much of the twelfth century it was studied principally as a fully-fledged liberal art, with the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium* the core texts recommended by both Alexander Nequam and Thierry of Chartres.⁵⁵ Thierry wrote commentaries on both texts in the middle years of the century, Peter Helias followed him in commenting on the *De inventione*, while a still unidentified 'Alanus' composed a commentary on the *Ad Herennium* in the final years of the century.⁵⁶ Like grammar's commentaries on Priscian and Donatus, this tradition preserved and to a certain extent perpetuated the classical conception of the art. In the case of rhetoric, this meant paying full attention to

all of its five parts – *inventio* (the finding of matter), *dispositio* (its arrangement), *elocutio* (diction or style), *memoria* (memory) and *pronunciatio* (delivery). And of course, it also means that rhetoric continues to address the figures and tropes, the bedrock of *elocutio*. So, while rhetoric is the art of speaking well (*bene dicendi scientia*) rather than correctly (*recte*), an art which concerns itself with the effect rather than the mechanics of language, there is still a significant intersection with grammar.⁵⁷

This intersection of the two arts becomes still more pronounced with the emergence of the *artes poetriae* (arts of poetry) at the end of the century. These pragmatic treatises were designed for the *pueri*, and parallel in form and aim the elementary verse grammars which begin to be written about the same time. Eberhard of Béthune wrote both a manual on composition (the *Laborintus*) and a grammatical treatise (the *Grecismus*). Geoffrey of Vinsauf (who taught in Northampton in the late twelfth century) composed two *artes poetriae*, the *Documentum* for beginners and the *Poetria nova* for more advanced students; the latter was frequently commented on and used in schools and universities until the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ Alexander of Villa Dei's grammar, the *Doctrinale*, which came to replace Priscian in the thirteenth-century universities, and Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* complete the picture.⁵⁹ All of these texts, whether avowedly grammatical or rhetorical, deal with the figures of speech and the tropes and continue the disciplinary contest over literary, figurative language that characterised the relationship of the language arts in Roman antiquity. What is more, the *artes poetriae*, whose primary aim is to teach composition, do so by asking the student to expound upon textual material given to the student by the grammar teacher; they use examples not only to illustrate doctrine, but to generate new texts.⁶⁰ In other words, composition or *inventio* consists of textual exposition (*enarratio*), and just as exegesis can take the form of rhetorical frameworks applied to the text, rhetoric can take the form of textual exegesis.

Enarratio not only blurs the boundary of grammar and rhetoric (in what Rita Copeland has termed the 'procedural overlap' of the two arts⁶¹), but also points towards the other way in which grammatical and literary discourses interact in the Middle Ages. This is the central sphere of inquiry of this book – glossing on classical texts, the place where grammar, rhetoric and the *auctores* converge. Glosses occupy the marginal and interlinear spaces on the page, surrounding

the text with explanations both of its linguistic detail and its rhetorical tactics. It is here that the double demand of grammar – to instil correct usage and to explain the poets – is most urgently played out; this is the site where grammar best establishes its claim to the classical text, and where it draws on its own traditions and on the resources of contemporary rhetoric to do so. The medieval grammatical commentator is forced constantly to negotiate between the authority of the text (difficult and recondite though it may be) and the requirement to teach correct usage, and to acknowledge how *elocutio* is constructed while ensuring that grammatical rectitude is communicated to students.⁶² The central project of this book is to examine how for one period (the twelfth century), glosses on one school text (Horace's *Satires*) draw on, diverge from and redefine the technical grammatical practice of which they form a part. Put another way, its project is to recover the history of a certain kind of reading, a reading that is, I shall argue, as much part of *grammatica* as Donatus' *Ars minor*, and as much part of the history of reading as, say, biblical commentary.

2. READING GLOSSES

If these glosses represent a certain kind of reading, who is the reader? And how do we go about reading the glosses? These are questions of crucial importance, for the attempt to answer them helps to prevent us from lapsing into a transhistorical 'reader-response' model which negates the glossing's cultural and functional specificity. To take the first question first – who is the reader behind the glossing? On one level this question is impossible to answer, for the glosses are anonymous and their (ostensible) role as ancillary to an authoritative text means that they are rarely graced with the name of their compiler.⁶³ Moreover, we cannot easily equate annotation with *individual* reading in this period, for since the first publication of Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record* in 1979, we have been made aware of the gulf that separated the skills of reading and writing.⁶⁴ Being able to read in no way implies the capacity to record anything in writing. What do we then do with elementary readings that are recorded in writing? In our case, the problem is particularly acute; the kind of reader who would need the information embodied in the glosses, that is to say, grammatical information, is by definition the kind of reader who cannot write: someone who could write

would, in terms of the twelfth-century hierarchy of literate skills, have no need of such glosses.

The only way out of this paradox is to see glosses as the written vestiges of a reading undertaken by experts for those who are not experts, that is to say, as a reading by a teacher for his pupils. Rather than an individual, we have a generic, professional reader; the teacher or *grammaticus* who reads for others. This means in turn that even though the reading is not actively undertaken by the *pueri*, its nature is determined by them, for the mode of reading is directly dependent on the level of their literacy. While they do not read (in our sense of the term) the text at all, for it remains at all moments and in all senses in the teacher's hands, their needs determine the use to which the text is put. This is a communal reading, communicated orally: remember that Nequam used the terms *audiat* ('let him hear') and *legat* ('let him read'). The glosses are merely the written traces of a much fuller reading practice, and what is more, they are part of a shift in the history of reading itself, away from the solitary rumination of monastic *lectio* to the more public forum of the classroom.⁶⁵

Indeed, this link between textual gloss and classroom speech is often made in texts of the period in their differentiation of the terms 'gloss' and 'commentary'. For example, the *Promisimus* commentary on Priscian makes the following distinction: *Commentarius vel commentum dicitur liber continens sequentie et non littere expositionem, glosa vero continens sequentie et littere expositionem, et dicitur glosa quasi glossa, quia litteram plenarie exponit sicut lingua magistri* ('"commentary" means the book containing the exposition of the sense and not the letter [of a text], but "gloss" [means the book] containing the exposition of the meaning and the letter, and it is called "gloss", almost "tongue or speech" because it explains the letter fully, just like the teacher's speech').⁶⁶ In fact, reasons of economy and availability make it very unlikely that individual students, even if they could write, would have had access to copies of the text. If they did write, it was probably on wax tablets, and Gernot Wieland has argued that this was precisely the situation in Anglo-Saxon classrooms.⁶⁷ Nor should we forget the role of memory, for, as Mary Carruthers' study has shown, the wax tablet of *memoria* is fundamental in medieval literacy: both Aelfric and Bernard of Chartres demanded that their students memorise and be tested on the previous day's lesson.⁶⁸ Of course, all of that is lost to us, but if we are prepared to read certain kinds of glossing as pedagogic discourse,

we can still recover classroom practice, and go, in Anthony Grafton's words, 'where the social historians cannot lead us'.⁶⁹

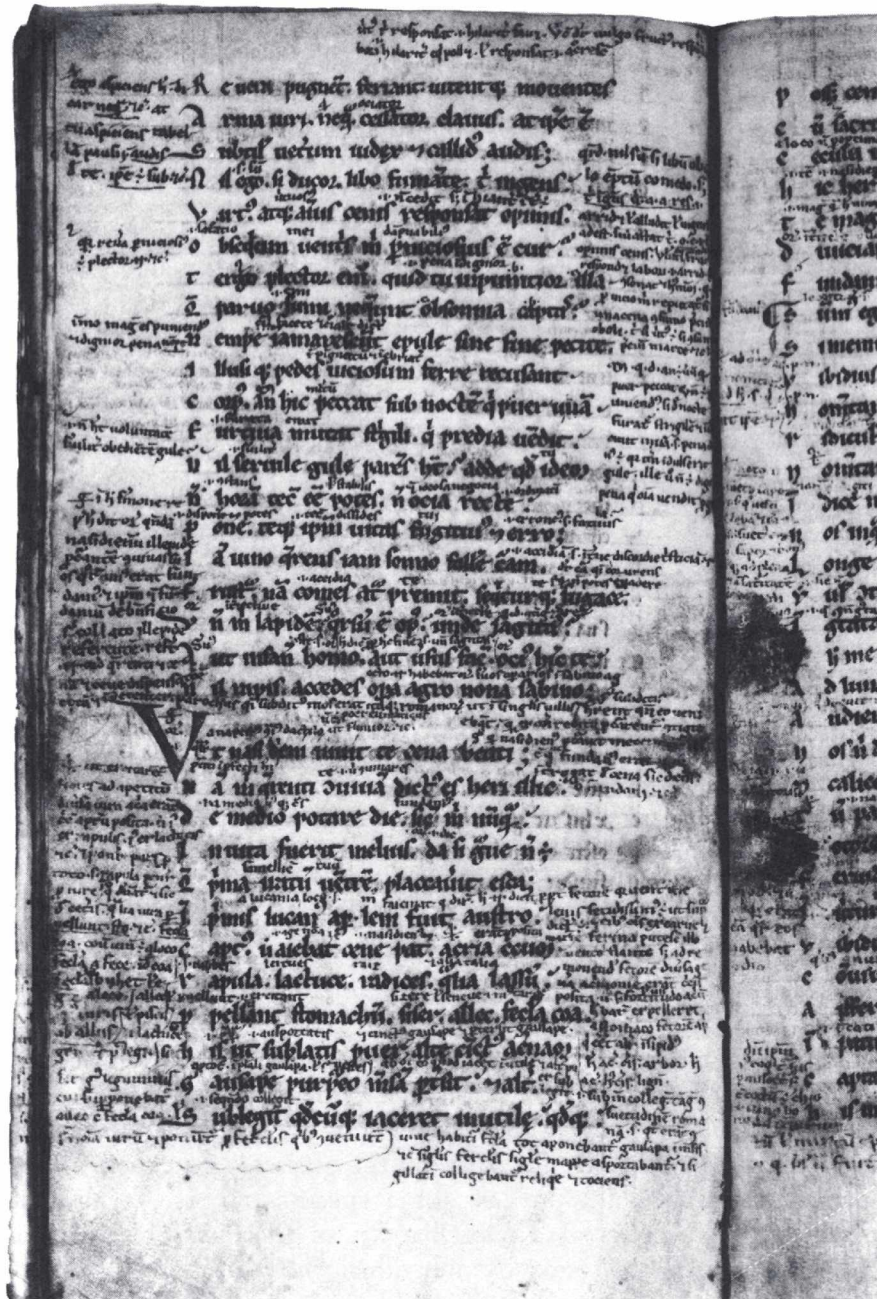
Glosses have customarily been put to rather different use. Until the last twenty years, and often since then, studies of glossing in late Antique and medieval manuscripts have been essentially philological, more interested in the history of language than the history of reading. Moreover, despite the fact that the large majority of the glosses are in Latin, scholars were overwhelmingly interested in vernacular glossing, privileging it as a way of gaining a rather illusory sense of 'real voice' behind the annotation, and rather less romantically, mining it for information about the state of the vernacular at a given stage of its development.⁷⁰ The essential features of such studies is that they extract individual glosses from the manuscript without attention to the expository programme of which they form part and use them as evidence in projects which have very little to do with the glossing at all.

Other scholars have attempted to look for more than vernacular templates. Alexander Schwarz's 1977 article 'Glossen als Texte', emphasised function as the key to understanding the practice of glossing in its historical context, and represents a turning point.⁷¹ Schwarz argues that the function of a gloss can be inferred from its precise relation to its lemma. This notion is to prove immensely fruitful in the work of other scholars, but Schwarz's insistence that each gloss must be seen as a *Kommunikationsakte* between two identifiable persons at a precise time and place, imposes unnecessary limits on its application. Moreover, his specimen case – the ninth-century grammatical glosses on Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, written in Otfrid's hand in the Benedictine monastery of Wiessenburg in Niedersaß – is exceptional.⁷² Grammatical glossing on Priscian has the advantage of presenting the scholar with two discourses which share a common aim, that is to propagate grammatical doctrine. If we know that the glosses were written by a famous ninth-century Latinist in a monastery renowned for its grammatical studies, and the text in question is the bedrock of the medieval grammar, then it is likely that the glosses will have a function related to the art of grammar.⁷³

Most glossed texts are a great deal less exemplary, for, as we shall see in the course of this book, glosses are usually anonymous, only very roughly datable and hardly ever easy to localise. If the limits of Schwarz's scheme are observed, then the majority of medieval

glossing cannot be analysed. Still, the dynamic model of function does allow for the study of glossing as a cultural practice rather than as a static repository of linguistic information and Ralph J. Hexter's *Ovid and Medieval Schooling* takes full advantage of the possibilities it affords.⁷⁴ Hexter examines anonymous grammatical glossing on Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and isolates three comprehensive functional genres: identification, replacement and expansion.⁷⁵ However, these ahistorical genres make it almost impossible to contextualise glossing in terms of contemporary grammatical and rhetorical theories and practices. It is not until G. R. Wieland's *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius* that an analysis of function is allied to a taxonomy of glossing that permits us to undertake that kind of contextualising. Wieland's scheme – glosses on prosody, lexical glosses, grammatical glosses, syntactical glosses and commentary glosses – is tacitly informed by the standard medieval model of language and grammar – letter, syllable, word and phrase.⁷⁶ The syllable is the focus of prosodic glosses, the *dictio* is examined both as a significant unit (lexical glosses) and as a part of speech (grammatical glosses) and the *oratio* studied by syntactic glosses. In fact, Wieland's emphasis is squarely on the glosses themselves, but his scheme potentially extends into the more general strategies of grammar and rhetoric, under whose aegis this reading took place.

Function is the key to what I try to do in this book. It enables us to move away from case studies of single manuscripts, to start synthesising material into taxonomies and to draw conclusions of a more general nature about medieval reading practice. Moreover, by juxtaposing that practice with medieval grammatical theory and judging how far the one informs, or fails to account for, the other, we begin to be able to rethink *grammatica* itself. Ultimately, these glosses demand that we conceptualise reading in a different way. They are not the reflection of an individual's interests and desires, but an answer to the grammatical requirements of the audience – a third party – for which they were destined. Reader response is replaced by the notion of mediation; the glossator or expert reader painstakingly mediates the text for a specific purpose, a purpose shaped by the needs of a particular set of learners. This kind of glossing is generated not by individual motivation, but by the traditional, culturally enshrined practice of using literary texts to teach Latin. It is the disparity between the complexity of the text and the ability of the learner that makes the glossing necessary, and



ms Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1780, fol. 90^v, courtesy of the Vatican Library.

which offers us a way of scrutinising one of the most fundamental elements of literate culture in the Middle Ages.

3. CASE STUDY: GLOSSING ON *SATIRES* II, 8, 1–12, FROM MS
VATICAN CITY, BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, REG.
LAT. 1780 (R), FOL. 90^v

The aim of this short case study is to demonstrate how the notion of function offers a fruitful way of decoding the glossed page, such as the one reproduced here. Even if it appears at first impenetrable, such a page can, through the process of transcription, translation and commentary, begin to yield information on the pedagogic tactics of a particular *magister*, and, therefore, the needs of a particular classroom situation. Many of the examples from MS R, fol. 90^v will recur at various points later in the book, but looking at them *in situ* offers a way of contextualising individual glosses within a particular reading programme as well as within *grammatica* in general. Even the format of the page is important. The glosses are not ruled for, but are crowded in and around the text, and, while this does not exclude the possibility that they may have been intended as part of the original design, it is clear that this book is not a prestige production, and that it was very heavily used. An almost illegible *ex libris* in a thirteenth-century hand on fol. 52^v gives further substance to the notion that this is a classbook, for it includes the word *scollas* ('schools').

Throughout this book I have used the text in Horace, *Opera*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Stuttgart, 1985 (referred to by page number only, here pp. 246–7) ; translations are from Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, ed. and trans. H. R. Fairclough, Cambridge, Mass., 1928 (referred to as trans. with page number, here trans. pp. 238–9). In the transcription below, the lemmata from the text are in capitals, the glosses in lower case. Interlinear glosses are between single slashes (/), marginal glosses between double slashes (//). Square brackets indicate material supplied by me. Illegible sections are signalled by curly brackets. I have not attempted to conceal the stylistic limitations of the glosses in my translations. All abbreviations have been expanded silently, as they have throughout the book. The manuscript is described and full bibliography given in M. Buonocore, *Codices Horatiani in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1992, pp. 153–5, with plates, pp. 335–7. The scholia by Pseudo-Acron show some of the same concerns, but these glosses are largely independent of them.⁷⁷

Transcription, translation and analysis of the glosses

Satires, II, 8

\\In hoc sermone reprehendit Oratius quendam Nasidienum, illepide procurantem convivas suos quorum unus erat Fundanius; et ipsum etiam Fundanium de beneficio sibi collato illepide referentem, refert enim Oratio querenti et cenam et cene dispensationem totam et indecentem.⁷⁸ Parochus quasi subditus. Mos erat itaque romanorum ut in singulis villis subditis [sic] haberent quando eo veniebant, qui ex communi reditu procurantur; contingit ergo quod Nasidienus procuravit Mecenatem [...] cum quo Fundan[i]us erat quem Oratius interrogat de cena, sic dicens, O Fundani etcetera//

[In this satire, Horace reprehends a certain Nasidienus for impolitely gathering his guests one of whom was Fundanius; and moreover [he reprehends] this Fundanius for rudely reporting on the kindness arranged for him, and he reports to Horace who is asking about the dinner and all vulgar arrangements for the meal. The host, as it were, the stand in. Thus it was the custom among the Romans to have in individual country homes hosts for them when they came there, who were drawn from the returning community. So it comes about therefore that Nasidienus invited Mecenas, with whom was Fundanius whom Horace questions on the feast, saying as follows; 'Fundanius', and so on.]

This is a typical short introduction to a satire, using the term 'reprehend' to summarise the thrust of the poem, and providing a short summary. The issue of reprehension and satire is discussed in more detail in chapter 11. The phrase 'mos erat romanorum' is quite often used to introduce brief contextualising comments; similar glosses have been examined by Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*.

1; \\Oratius//

[Horace]

Glosses like this take the place of punctuation. There is no equivalent in manuscripts of this date of quotation marks to signal direct speech; the glossator instead provides the name of the speaker, as he does again at lines 3 and 4.

\\anapestus, contrarius dactilo/

[anapest, the opposite of dactyl]

Reading and the trivium arts

Metrical comment on the *Satires* is very rare.

1; UT; \idest qualiter/

[1; HOW; \that is to say, how/]

The glossator provides a synonym, but replaces one part of speech (a conjunction) with another (an adverb); the aim is to show how 'ut', a conjunction with several different senses, is being used in this particular context. The emphasis on defining according to contexts is explored in chapters 5 and 6.

2; QUERENTI CONVIVAM; \te, idest ut convivares/

[2; I ASKED AS A GUEST; \you, that is, so that you might feast together [with me]/]

A paraphrase gloss which supplies the 'you' that is only implied in the Latin.

2; HERI; \preteriti imperfecti heri/

[2; YESTERDAY; \the past imperfect, yesterday/]

3; DE MEDIO \in medio usque cras/

[3; FROM MIDDAY; \from midday until tomorrow/]

Again, this gloss makes things more explicit, and intensifies the exaggerated nature of the feasting, the subject of the satire's ridicule.

3; SIC; \Fundanius/

[3; YES; \Fundanius/]

Signals the change of speaker

4; DA; \Oratius, idest, dic/

[4; TELL; \Horace, that is, speak/]

Signals the change of speaker, and provides a simpler Latin synonym, therefore increasing the range of vocabulary for the same activity, speaking.

5; IRATUM VENTREM; \famellicum tuum/

[5; ANGRY STOMACH; \your hunger/]

Medieval reading

Provides a more literal equivalent for the figure in the text

6; LUCANUS APER; \a Lucania loco scilicet/⁷⁹

[6; A WILD BOAR; \namely, from the place Lucania [Southern Italy]/]

6-7; LENI FUIT AUSTRO /CAPTUS ... ACRIA CIRCUM; \hoc enim dicit propter fetorem quia ventus iste lenis fetidissimus est ut supradictum est, et cibus omnis excarne et marina ferina putrescit illo vento flante. Sed ad removendum fetorem diversa genera acrimonie erant circumposita, ut scilicet fortitudo \vel vis/ acrium herbarum expelleret a stomaco fetorem apri qui esset aliter insipidus//

[6-7; CAUGHT WHEN A GENTLE SOUTH WIND WAS BLOWING ... WITH PUNGENT DISHES SURROUNDING IT \now, this is said on account of the stench, because this gentle wind is extremely foul, as is mentioned above, and all food, from meat, fish and game, putrefies through the blowing of that wind. But, in order to remove the stench, different kinds of sharp [foods] were placed around it, so that clearly, the strength or power of the bitter herbs might expel from the stomach the stench of the boar, which would otherwise be tasteless//]

The use of cross-reference that we see in this gloss (to S,II, 6, 18, where the R glossator also comments on the properties of this wind) is extremely rare and demonstrates a high level of cohesion and planning in the R glosses which their haphazard appearance belies.⁸⁰ The R glosses also refer widely to other classical authors, which is rare in the glosses I discuss in this book. Both features confirm a higher level of literacy in the audience for these glosses, and I discuss this issue of level in chapter 12. Alexander Nequam mentions the warmth of this wind in the *De laudibus divinae sapientiae* (*De naturis rerum et De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. T. Wright, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 34, London, 1857, p. 375), but does not talk about its putrefying powers.

7; UT AIEBAT; \idest age[bat], non aiebat/

[7; AS HE KEPT TELLING US; \that is, as he kept arguing, not just saying/

The gloss provides an intensification of the text, using a stronger verb to illustrate the insistence of Nasidienus' comments. *Agere* has specifically rhetorical force, and is used for the pleading of a case; I discuss its use in chapter 10.

7; CENE PATER; \idest Nasidienus/

[7; THE FATHER OF THE FEAST; \that is, Nasidienus/]

7; ACRIA CIRCUM; \ERANT POSITA/

[7; SHARP THINGS AROUND; \were placed/]

This is an example of the what Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, pp. 109–42, terms a suppletive gloss, a gloss that supplies in full what is only implicit in the text. It is typical of Latin verse texts to omit the verb 'to be'; here it is supplied along with further information.

7–8; ACRIA CIRCUM / RAPULA, LACTUCAE, RADICES ...;\ut excitarentur homines ad appetitum diversa iura acria erant, circum aprum posita, ut ius ex rapulis, ius ex lactucis etcetera, et ponitur pars pro toto, scilicet rapula ponitur pro iure in quo derivantur et sic de ceteris//

[7–8; SHARP THINGS AROUND, LITTLE TURNIPS, LETTUCES, RADISHES; \in order that the men's hunger might be stimulated, there were different sharp broths placed around the boar, such as the juice from turnips, the juice from lettuces and so on. And he [Horace] puts the part for the whole, that is, he puts turnips in the place of the broth into which they are made, and so with the others//]

This gloss has two functions. The first is to paraphrase and summarise the text, the second is to use it as the occasion for comment on figurative language. I discuss *pars pro toto* ('the part for the whole') more fully in chapter 10, but it is important to note here that by suggesting that the turnips stand for the broth into which they are made, the glossator generates out of the text an example of the trope synecdoche.

Medieval reading

It is likely that a more general discussion of this trope then followed.

8; RAPULA; \scilicet rabbes/

[8; LITTLE TURNIPS; \that is, turnips [Anglo-Norman]/]

For similar glosses see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 135, 410 and 428.

8; LACTUCAE; \leitues/

[8; LETTUCES; \lettuces [Anglo-Norman]/]

See T. Hunt, *The Plant Names of Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 159–60; Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. II, p. 131.

8; RADICES; \raix/

[8; RADISHES; \radishes [Anglo-Norman]/]

Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 64, records similar gloss (*rayces*) on this lemma in MS C.

All three are what I term translation glosses, which are the focus of chapter 5. They provide a vernacular equivalent for words in the text which do not have obvious Latin synonyms, and demonstrate the important role of the vernacular in accessing Latin vocabulary, particularly vocabulary to do with the food and everyday objects.

8; QUALIA; \et alia talia/

[8; SUCH THINGS; \other similar things/]

8–9; QUALIA... / PERVELLUNT STOMACUM; \pervellunt idest excitant/ \qualia iura pervellunt sto (macum) etcetera/

[8–9; SUCH THINGS /... WHET THE APPETITE; \whet, that is, stimulate/ \such things, that is broths, whet the appetite and so on/]

A typical paraphrase gloss which offers synonyms as it paraphrases, and which works the syntax into a more accessible form by uniting the subject (*qualia*) with the verb (*pervellunt*) and object (*stomachum*); see chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Reading and the trivium arts

9; siser; \siser vel seneue, idest mustarde/ \siser genus leguminis cui [i.e. allec] superponebatur//

[9; SKIRRET; \skirret or mustard (French), that is mustard (English) /\skirret is a kind of vegetable on which it was placed//]

Here the glossator offers two vernacular equivalents, one French, one English. This is a clear indication of the complexity of the linguistic situation in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. For similar examples, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 402 for *seneue* and pp. 147 and 149 for *anglice mustarde*.

9; ALLEC; \allec vel genus iuris vel piscis ab [sic] allus genus, et lactuce generaliter potest legi//

[9; PICKLED FISH; \fish-pickle, either the kind of broth or a fish of the *allus* genus; and lettuces can be read generally//]

9; FAECULA COA; \fecula coa, coum vinum (est) a loco; fecula a fece, idem coa fecula⁸¹//

[9; COAN DREGS \Coan dregs, the wine is called Coan from the place it comes from; dregs (*fecula*) comes from sediment (*fex*), therefore, *coan dregs*//]

An example of the interest in derivation that characterises pedagogic glossing; *derivatio* takes the words in the text as its starting point, and generates new Latin vocabulary from them. I discuss this strategy in chapter 6.

9; ALLEC, FAECULA COA; \allec cum fecula coa sunt nomina iurum et ponuntur pro ferculis quibus conveniunt//

[9; FISH-PICKLE, COAN DREGS; \fish-pickle with Coan dregs are the names of broths and are used here instead of the dishes they go with//]

An echo of the *pars pro toto* gloss on lines 7–8

10; HIS ... SUBLATIS; \postquam idest ausportatis/

[10; THESE THINGS ... HAVING BEEN BORN AWAY; \afterwards, that is having been carried off/

Medieval reading

Here the gloss makes the tense clearer by adding the adverb 'afterwards' above the ablative absolute construction. It also supplies a synonym and broadens Latin vocabulary in the process. This combination of grammatical and semantic information is common.

10; ACERNAM; \hec acer, aceris, arbor, hic acer, huius aceris, lignum//

[10; MAPLE-WOOD; \this maple, of the maple [feminine], the tree, this maple, of this maple [masculine], the wood/]

The function of this gloss is to differentiate between two related forms. It does this by using *hec* and *hic* to demonstrate the different genders of the terms, and mirrors the long-established method of declension which used *hic*, *hec*, *hoc* as gender markers; see chapter 5.

10-11; PUER ALTER CINCTUS ACERNAM / GAUSAPE PURPUREO MENSAM PERTERSIT; \et cinctus gausape et pertersit gausape/ \tangit consuetudinem romanam, scilicet, quot erant convive habituri fercula, tot apponebantur gausapa in mensis, et cum singulis ferculis, singule mappe asportabantur et si[n]gillatim colligebantur reliquie et tociens//

[10-11; A GIRDLED BOY WIPED THE MAPLE-WOOD TABLE WITH A PURPLE CLOTH; \he was both girdled with a cloth and wiped [the table] with a cloth/ \he touches on the Roman custom, namely, that however many guests were about to receive their dishes, that many napkins were brought to the tables, and with each dish, the individual napkins were taken away and one by one the remainder were collected and as many times [as necessary]//]

11; GAUSAPE; \aptotus, in plurali gausapa, vel vestes/

[11; WITH THE NAPKIN; \indeclinable, in the plural *gausapa*, or cloths/]

The glossator supplies a generic synonym, but, more interestingly, he also draws attention to the anomalous declension

pattern of this noun, which is used in the ablative here. Peter Helias employs *gausape* as an example in his commentary on Priscian; his comments illustrate perfectly the problems that *grammatici* faced when trying to set the usage of the *auctores* as the standard of correct grammar. The subject is nouns of the third declension: *Neutra que cum sint appellative terminant nominativum in e correptam, faciunt ablativum in i ut sit dativo eorum similis, ut 'hoc mare' et 'huic' et 'ab hoc mari', excepto Gausape, cuius ablativus cum debeat esse regulariter 'Gausapi'. Frequens tamen usus habet pro ablativo 'Gausape', quamvis etiam ceteros predictorum neutrorum ablativos soleant terminare vetustissimi in e ut 'ab hoc mare', quos tamen in hoc non sequimur*⁸² ('Common neuter nouns end in a short *e* in the nominative, form the ablative in *i* so that it is like their dative, as in 'the sea' and 'to the [sea]' and 'from the sea'; except for *Gausape*, whose ablative ought to be, according to the rules, *Gausapi*. Nevertheless, frequent usage has *Gausape* for the ablative, and even though the ancients were accustomed to end certain of the above neuter ablatives in *e*, like 'from the sea', we do not follow them in this'). All the ingredients are here: the attempt to establish rules, the acknowledgment that there are exceptions, the further acknowledgment that those exceptions are found especially in the *auctores*, and the attempt to enforce the rules nevertheless. These manoeuvres typify the glossators' negotiation between classical text and medieval audience.

11-12; ALTER SUBLEGIT QUODCUMQUE IACERET INUTILE; \ab
omni eo quod *iacet inutile* et *alter* puer *sublegit*, idest
subinde collegit/

[11-12; ANOTHER BOY SWEEPED UP ALL THE LEFTOVERS; \out of
everything that which had *fallen down unused* the
other boy swept up, that is immediately gathered
together/]

12; SUBLEGIT; \idest, sequendo collegit/

[12; SWEEPED UP; \that is, following, he collected/]

PART II

Reading practice

Origins and mythologies: the invention of language and meaning

It seems that every culture has the urge to mythologise, or, to use Barthes' words, to 'transform history into nature'.¹ Of course, the choice of object to be naturalised betrays the anxieties and preoccupations of the mythologisers, but so do the methods and forms they adopt. These forms are the strategies with which a culture seeks to allay its anxieties, creating a fiction that gives shape to the unknowns of the past and, in doing so, explains the present. The contingent and the man-made become natural. This naturalisation is the fundamental impulse behind medieval myths of the invention of language. Written in the context of a culture which is characterised by a constantly shifting multi-lingualism, these accounts were obstinately founded in the idea that language was created at a given moment, in a definable manner. It was a single event, not a process. Moreover, language was initially a single language, imposed on to a primal scene of confusion so that the primitive, languageless inhabitants of the earth might communicate with each other. It took the form of individual names imposed on to individual things, and its basic currency was the word, distinct, utterable and most important of all, significant. In this way, the individual word became the essential part of the medieval economy of language, and the foundation of *grammatica*'s operations. Since any attempt to delineate the relationship of *grammatica* and language pedagogy in the Middle Ages must take this into account, this chapter will be concerned to uncover the origins and implication of this view. Along the way, it will have cause to explore several closely related debates that are crucial to medieval linguistic thought. Does language signify by nature or by convention? How can we explain linguistic diversity? How does grammar perform its fundamental task of bringing language – and by implication, reality – under control? I will argue that these questions underwrite and sustain the pedagogical practice of the period, a practice which bears witness to a

dynamic interrelationship of language theory and contextual pressures in the pursuit of literacy.

The dominant presence in this exploration of origins is – perhaps surprisingly – Aristotle, for it is to Boethius’ translation of, and commentaries on, the *De interpretatione* that we must eventually turn for the beginnings of this word-based account of language.² (The rather less straightforward role of Genesis will also come into play.) However, I shall temporarily postpone this return *ad fontes* to look at one of the most important and interesting twelfth-century accounts of the invention of language, which is found in the *De eodem et diverso* of Adelard of Bath, an English scientist and Arabist.³ Although the *De eodem* now survives in only one manuscript, suggesting that it had a very limited contemporary circulation, its description of language invention stands at the head of a textual lineage which stretches as far back as the *De interpretatione* itself.⁴ Adelard’s myth of the origins of language forms the central part of his personification of *Grammatica*, who, with a rod (*ferula*) in her right hand and corrected codex (*codex lituris innumeris distinctus*) in the left, bears a striking resemblance to the personifications of the art we have already encountered. By its very position in the text, as part of the description of *Grammatica*, this account demonstrates that the invention of language and its consequent study were perceived to be inextricably linked, to the extent that grammar was sometimes defined as ‘the science which teaches the imposition of words’ (*scientia que docet impositionem vocabulorum*).⁵ Adelard begins with a description of the pre-linguistic environment, which is characterised by mute confusion. *Grammatica* herself administers the remedy:

Haec nempe, cum primum mortales per agros passim et ferali more sine mutua affabilitate muta ratione vagarentur nec posset alter alteri, quid vel de se vel de rebus subiectis intelligeret, insinuare – haec, inquam, primum nomina rebus singulis imponens mortales mutuae allocutionis honestate beavit.⁶

[For she, when mortal men first wandered about here and there in the countryside like beasts, without mutual consideration and with their reason silent, the one not able to hint to his fellow what he understood either about himself or the things around him, – she, I say, by putting names to things, first blessed men with the honest pursuit of mutual conversation.]

The form of this invention – the imposition of names on to things

(*imponens nomina rebus*) – takes us to the heart of medieval semantics, for it is essentially a mythologised version of the early chapters of Boethius' commentaries on the *De interpretatione*. The crucial passage is *De interpretatione* 1, 2, where Aristotle seeks to define the noun, the first part of the logical proposition:

Nomen ergo est vox significativa secundum placitum sine tempore, cuius nulla pars est significativa separata.⁷

[Therefore the noun is a *vox* [a linguistic item] which signifies according to convention and without time, and no part of which is significant on its own.]

Boethius' translation and subsequent commentaries on this sentence shaped thought on semantics and the origins of language for centuries. The crucial phrase is *vox significativa secundum placitum* ('a *vox* which signifies according to convention'). Initially, Boethius scrutinises the term *vox significativa*, showing that the equation *nomen est vox* glosses over a multitude of differentiations and distinctions. In the first place, there needs to be a distinction made between *voces* that signify, and *voces* that do not; the *nomen* is quite obviously in the first category. But within this category, a further distinction is required; some *voces* signify naturally, others 'not naturally' (*non naturaliter*). Here the phrase *non naturaliter* starts to hint at Aristotle's *secundum placitum*, and the terms of Boethius' division become clearer. Cries, howls and most notably the bark of the dog (*latratus canis*) signify naturally, whereas linguistic signs signify by will, or put another way, by convention.⁸

This fundamental semiological distinction, that is to say, signification by nature or convention, is refined still further by Boethius and his early twelfth-century successor, Peter Abelard.⁹ In his commentary on the *De interpretatione* in the *Logica 'Ingredientibus'*, Abelard distinguishes between the two different agencies of naming involved in the two types of signification. The initial site of the distinction is his gloss on the term *significativa* (although he later develops it in the gloss on *secundum placitum*):

significativum autem dicitur, quidquid habile est ad significandum ex institutione aliqua sive ab homine facta sive natura. Nam latratus natura artifex, idest Deus, ea intentione cani contulit, ut iram eius repraesentaret; et voluntas hominum nomina et verba ad significandum instituit nec non etiam res quasdam, ut circulum vel signa quibus monachi utuntur.¹⁰

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[for *significativum* means whatever is appropriate for signifying by virtue of an imposition made either by man or by nature. For by means of nature, the maker, that is God, conferred barking on the dog with the intention that it might represent its anger by it; and the will of men instituted nouns and verbs for the purpose of signifying, and also moreover certain things [for the same purpose], like the circle or the signs that monks use.]

Boethius too clearly states in the first commentary on the *De interpretatione* that the imposition of names took place *secundum positionem hominum* ('according to the imposition of men').¹¹ He expands on this in the more sophisticated second commentary, explaining that 'the human race, which flourishes by virtue of both reason and speech, imposed names' (*hominum genus, quod et ratione et oratione vigeret, nomina posuit*).¹² In all these accounts, the power to name is attributed to humanity, and in Boethius' second commentary, it becomes a defining quality of the human condition.

This first moment of naming or *inventio* became known as the *prima impositio*, a term used by both logicians and grammarians.¹³ Although they do not explicitly evoke a primeval context of linguistic confusion, grammarians such as William of Conches and Peter Helias do use the co-terminous frameworks of invention and imposition to discuss how and why language comes into being. Moreover, they, like Adelard, diverge from the biblical precedent of Adam's solitary naming, where the imposition of names precedes the creation of the second human being – that is, Eve.¹⁴ In Genesis, 2, 19–20, God the Creator brings the creatures of the earth before Adam and Adam names them: *omne enim, quod vocavit homo animae viventis, ipsum est nomen eius* ('and whatever Adam called every living creature, that was its name').¹⁵ However, other grammarians, such as the anonymous author of the early twelfth-century *Glosule*, did see this moment as the work of a single anonymous *inventor* or *impositor*, and suggest a parallel between grammatical and biblical traditions.¹⁶ But Adelard's *socially* based explanation for the invention of language (*mortales mutuae allocutionis honestate beavit*), is impossible to tally with the biblical story. Moreover, his profoundly Aristotelian myth invests the power to name solely in personified *Grammatica*, and thereby acknowledges the crucial role of grammar in any attempt to understand human communication. At the heart of his scheme lies the conviction that only this science prevents humanity from falling again into disarray and confusion.

This possible disparity between Aristotelian and biblical myths of language invention should not be overlooked. Indeed, it re-emerges at the very point where grammarians and logicians attempt to move beyond mere assertion and prove by induction the conventional nature of linguistic signs. Once again, Boethius sets the agenda:

Sed nomen non naturaliter significat. Apud diversas gentes enim diversa sunt nomina. Quae autem apud diversas diversa sunt, ea non sunt naturaliter, sed secundum placitum eorum qui posuerunt positionemque ponentium ... [p. 47] Ita quoque omnia nomina si naturaliter essent, isdem omnes homines uterentur.¹⁷

[But the noun does not signify naturally, for names are different according to different peoples. Those things which are different among different peoples do not exist by nature, but according to the will and according to the imposition of the imposers who imposed [them] ... It is also the case that if names existed naturally, all men would use the same ones.]

Adelard hints at this issue of linguistic diversity when at the very end of his schema, he enters the caveat *sed hoc apud latinos*. ('but this according [only] to the Latins').¹⁸ For Adelard and for Boethius, the existence of diversity in itself becomes an argument for the conventional relationship of language and reality, an empirical proof of the conventional nature of signification. Perhaps this is why the story of the Tower of Babel, the *locus classicus* for medieval discussions of linguistic difference, is so notably absent from their accounts. In his remarkable study of attitudes towards the French vernacular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Serge Lusignan has explored the potency of this biblical narrative for medieval ideas about language and for what he terms 'l'anthropologie chrétienne'. Zygmunt Barański too has explored the biblical foundations of Dante's view of language and vernacularity in the *De vulgari eloquentia*.¹⁹ Both point out that the Babel myth was used not only to account for the inescapable fact of linguistic diversity – to 'naturalise' historical fact – but to transform that diversity into a sign of man's sinful nature. Of course, this is a world away from using the same diversity as proof of the conventional nature of meaning. It seems that writers on language, whether grammarians, biblical exegetes, or poets, felt impelled to account for the multi-lingual environment in which they worked, but they could turn that fact to various ideological ends, semiological or theological. In this way, the idea either of imposition by human will or of divine

punishment came to explain and comment on contemporary multilingualism. The resonance of these ideas for twelfth-century students of Latin in England and France is immediately apparent, particularly in the virtually tri-lingual context of England, where native English, Anglo-Norman and Latin itself were all used in various and sometimes competing ways.²⁰ Indeed, some of the lexical glosses which are the focus of the following chapter bear striking witness to the co-existence of different languages even within the confines of a single classroom.

The Boethian schema which underwrites Adelard's myth is subsumed into the grammatical tradition under the guise of the innovative doctrine of *causa inventionis*, literally 'cause of invention' or, more idiomatically, *raison d'être*. According to William of Conches, it was the search for causes that distinguished the grammar of his time (the grammar of the *moderni*) from Priscian and the ancients, who had been content to leave such things unquestioned.²¹ Through the mediation of William's ideas in the work of Peter Helias, the search for causes became a crucial element in the renovatory programme of twelfth-century *grammatica*, as it was for science in general in this period.²² William uses it to discuss the origin of the *vox* in his gloss on Priscian's *Institutiones*, but his greater debt to the Boethian tradition is clear: *auctores invenerunt has voces per quas homo homini convenienter suam voluntatem manifestaret* ('the originators invented these sounds through which a human might conveniently express his will to another human').²³ The emphasis on will (*voluntas*) and communication as the cause of the invention of language is of course crucial to Adelard's myth and even to Abelard's rather more sombre account. It is taken up by Peter Helias, but was modified by later grammarians who substituted *intellectus* for *voluntas* and thereby adhered more closely to the Boethian scheme of *res supposita* (thing), *intellectus* (concept) and *vox* (utterance) as the three essential requirements for communication.²⁴ Still, all these accounts stress that the grammatical texts most often speak of the imposition of language in terms of the individual units which constitute it, the *voces*, or in the case of Peter Helias, the *dictiones*, words:

sciendum est quod communis causa inventionis omnium dictionum est ut haberet homo quomodo propriam voluntatem alteri manifestaret.²⁵

[it should be known that the *causa inventionis* common to all words

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is that man might have a means of communicating his will to another.]

In Adelard's scheme, the first imposition of names onto things ensures the possibility of elementary communication. But for the grammarians and glossators, who too worked in the shadow of Boethius' translation and commentaries, there were rather more problems to confront at this stage of the myth's etiology. We have already seen that there is a very strong distinction between *voces* which signify by nature and those which signify by convention, and that linguistic signs fall emphatically into the second category. This effectively removes the perennial problem of trying to discover a 'natural', Cratylan, link between reality and the linguistic apparatus used to describe it. (Indeed, I will argue in chapter 6 of this book that the traditional tool used in such an enterprise – etymology – has long since shed its epistemological status and became in the twelfth century, if not earlier, an instrument of rhetorical and topical invention.²⁶) However, there does remain a further concern for grammarians at this stage in Adelard's scheme, a concern he implicitly acknowledges. Immediately after *Grammatica's* imposition of names, Adelard attempts to convince his readers of the difficulty of her task:

Quod quam difficilis operae sit, animo si ades, intelliges, quippe cum et res infinitae sint eademque aliter per se, aliter in coniunctione, aliter secundum quod uniuersaliter intelliguntur, aliter secundum quod sensibus subiectae indiuiduali proprietati subiacent, appellandae sint. Verbi gratia id quidem, quod in subiecto corpore accidens est, secundum quod per se quasi quaedam substantia sine corporis respectu concipitur, albedo vocatur, secundum hoc vero quod in subiecto est, albi nomine designatur. Item animal rationale, quod cernis, secundum quod in uniuersalitate definitionibus substantialis intelligitur, homo iudicatur, in eo vero quod singularitate descriptionis discoloratur, Socrates appellatur.²⁷

[You will appreciate what a difficult task this is, if you put your mind to it. For things are both infinite in number and should be called one thing in themselves, another in conjunction, another thing when they are understood in a universal sense, yet another thing because being subject to the senses, they are subject to an individual property. For example, that which is an accident in a subject body, in being conceived in itself as a certain substance without respect to body, is called 'whiteness'. But in that it is in a subject, it is denoted by the name 'white'. In the same way, the

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rational animal that you see is judged to be 'man' in so far as he is understood in the universality of his definition as a substance, but in so far as he is distinguished by the singularity of a description, he is called 'Socrates'.]

In this passage, Adelard variously takes on, hints at and glosses over some of the most crucial issues in twelfth-century semantics, which preoccupy grammarians, and I will argue, inform the glossing practices of those teaching Latin literacy. In the first place, it is clear that for Adelard, the adequacy of language to represent the complexity of reality – to signify – is a vexed issue. How can a single name be used to denote the same thing in all its various manifestations? Put another way, how can the same term be used to signify the *res* in both its universal sense and as an entity perceived by the senses? Adelard's dramatising of these concerns should not be seen in isolation, for his example of *album* – *albedo* (white – whiteness) is canonical in discussions of this type.²⁸ On the other hand, his second example *homo-Socrates* is less easy to pin down. He seems to use the terms to stand for two very different types of signification, signification in general and signification in a particular referential context. In order to clarify this kind of distinction, grammarians from the anonymous *Glosule* author onwards introduce the notions of *significatio* and *nominatio*. The *significatio* of a word is its meaning in thought only, for example the supposedly universal concept of 'man' as an abstraction, whereas *nominatio* is the signification of a particular thing, the denotation of a concrete thing or concept when the word is used in a given context, for example 'Socrates'.²⁹ In fact, Adelard's example is rather misleading, since the point of the grammatical distinction is that the word *homo* can have *both* these semantic functions: it signifies the universal quality 'man' and also denotes a particular man – who may of course happen to be called Socrates.

The distinction between *significatio* and *nominatio* has several important ramifications. In the first place, it provides the single most important instrument for tackling the thorny linguistic issue of equivocation. This problem arises when the same word has more than one *significatum*.³⁰ Boethius used the example *canis* (dog) to illustrate equivocation: it can refer either to the *canis latrabilis* ('barking dog'), or the *canis marinus* ('the sea beast').³¹ Again, this was to become a standard example. For example, John of Garland's *Opus synonymy-*

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morum, written in the early thirteenth century, includes the following aphorism:

Quod natat aequore; splendet in aethere; latrat in aede,
Significat triplici canis haec tria sub ratione.³²

[That which swims in the sea, shines in the firmament, barks at the hearth, / 'Dog' signifies these three things by virtue of a triple meaning.]

On the other hand, *nominata*, that is words used in a particular context, do not have the same equivocal status: the sentence, 'The dog barks' can only refer to the third kind of dog. This viewpoint is of crucial importance to glossing practice, for it clearly establishes that context is the key element in determining meaning in usage. The distinction between *significatio* and *nominatio* also has important ramifications for the study of synonymy. According to the theoretical models of the grammarians, words must coincide at both levels if they are to be considered truly synonymous. *Homo* and *risibile* may refer to the same thing in a given context, but they do not share the same *significatum*, and are therefore not true synonyms.³³

It is Peter Helias who summarises the *significatio-nominatio* distinction for both nouns and verbs in typically aphoristic fashion:

Vide ergo quod nomina que significant substancias et aliquid significant et aliquid nominant. At hoc nomen 'homo' singulos homines nominat et universale quoddam significat ... (fol. 18^{va}) Similiter omne verbum significat actionem vel passionem. Non omne verbum significaret id quod est actio vel passio sed quia omne verbum vel id quod est actio vel passio significaret, vel aliquid aliud modo actionis vel passionis.³⁴

[Note therefore that nouns, which signify substances, both signify one thing and denote another. For this noun 'man' (both) denotes individual men and signifies a certain universal ... Similarly, every verb signifies action and passion. Not that every verb will signify what action or passion is, but because every verb will signify both that which is action or passion and also [denote] something else of action or passion.]

In fact, Peter has taken a step further at this point, for he uses the idea of *significatio* not only in the case of individual words, but as the basis of a taxonomy of the parts of speech. Nouns are classifiable as nouns, verbs as verbs, because all members of each category share the same

significatio; nouns signify substance, verbs signify action and passion respectively. Now, this taxonomy is inseparable from the notion of causes (*causa*), for it operates not only at the level of the *prima impositio*, that is at the level of the invention of words in general, but is also used by twelfth-century grammarians to examine the imposition of the parts of speech and their accidents, and even the letter and the syllable.³⁵ William of Conches taxed his predecessors with having ignored these questions altogether, but his criticisms are unfair, for to a certain extent, the differences are ones of terminology. For example, both Priscian and the anonymous *Glosule* compiler use the term *proprium* to convey approximately the same idea as *causa inventionis*.³⁶ This emerges most clearly in their discussion of the invention of the parts of speech, particularly the noun and verb. The author of the *Glosule* glosses Priscian's statement that 'it is the property (*proprium*) of the noun to signify substance', with the phrase 'it signifies that substance for the designating of which it was invented', where the term *designandum* is used to characterise meaning at the level of *nominatio*, while the notion of *proprium* is implicitly equated with *significatio* (from *significare*).³⁷ In other words, *significatio* is very closely allied with the idea of *causa inventionis* through the notion of *proprium*. Indeed, the relationship of *significatio* and *causa* can be expressed somewhat tautologically as follows: a part of speech signifies that which it was invented to signify.³⁸ Some grammarians restated this argument using logical categories. For them, the *significatio* or *causa inventionis* was what was substantial to the part of speech: everything else was accidental.³⁹

These debates take us to the heart of pre-scholastic attitudes to the word. It is both a significant unit, the minimal bearer of linguistic meaning (*vox significativa*), but it is also a part of speech, a grammatical entity with accidents that can act in combination with other such entities to produce larger and more complex units of meaning. Indeed, this division is the essential fact of medieval grammatical and glossatorial attitudes to the word, and is emphasised by Peter Helias in his differentiation of the *causa inventionis* of words – *voluntatem manifestare*, to manifest the will – and the *causa* of the parts of speech as such.⁴⁰ This double-sidedness reverberates throughout the grammatical tradition; it is enshrined in the division between lexicographical and grammatical treatises (although we shall see that the pedagogical practice of derivation (*derivatio*) blurs this distinction), and between lexical and morphological glosses on classical texts.

It is no surprise therefore to see this duality figured by Adelard in the primal scene of language's origins. We have already seen how he emphasises the difficulty of *Grammatica's* task by drawing attention to the complexity of the reality she sought to bring under control; things subsisting in countless different ways, in themselves, in conjunction with other things, as universals and as subjectively perceived entities. Using the example of *albus/albedo*, Adelard points out that immediately after the *prima impositio*, there was no means of distinguishing these different kinds of being and different kinds of signifying. Primary language was riven by ambiguities and confusion. At this point, *Grammatica's* true value is revealed. She removes the confusion by imposing a scientific framework on to the already existing words, a framework consisting of the imposition of names on to names. In other words, she invents what linguists would today term a metalanguage. Adelard explicitly equates this second linguistic register with the categories of the eight parts of speech:⁴¹

Rebus itaque nominibus uestitis ipsis uocibus uoces alias imposuit, ut et earum inter se differentia non lateret et infinitas illa multiplex sub numerum redacta scientiae comprehensu non careret. Uniuersitatem igitur illam octo partium orationis numero mira sagacitate subiecit, adeo a perfectione impositionis non temperans, ut sicut uox rei, ita et uox uocis significativa sit.⁴²

[But having clothed things with names in this way, she gave different *voces* to the *voces* themselves, so that even their difference amongst themselves should not be hidden and that multi-faceted infinity, having been brought under a finite number, should not lack the [ability to be] grasped by a scientific discipline. Thus with wonderful sagacity she subjected that total multiplicity to the number of the eight parts of speech, and to such an extent did she refuse to temper the application [of this number] that, just as a *vox* was significative of a thing, so a *vox* too might be significative of a *vox*.]

Again, the importance of grammar is paramount. Not only does she invent the means by which men might communicate with each other, she also represents the sole means by which language – and, therefore, reality – can be discussed, categorised and, ultimately, brought under human control.⁴³ It is as if language and linguistics were born, naturally, almost in the same moment. Latin and *grammatica* are once again virtually synonymous.

Investigation of this second, metalinguistic imposition is common to both logical and grammatical traditions in the first half of the twelfth century. In the *Logica*, 'De ingredientibus', for example, Abelard points out that 'it happens sometimes that a *vox* takes as if to itself its own name, and then it is its own signifier, as when we say, "man is a noun"'.⁴⁴ According to Adelard, this phase of linguistic invention was known as the *materiale impositum*; it is described in comparable fashion by the grammarians of the period.⁴⁵ William of Conches for example writes:

Item hic 'homo est nomen' significat propriam qualitatem huius nominis sed nominat se ipsum. Quod antiqui vocaverunt materiale impositum. Est enim materiale impositum vox se ipsam nominans.⁴⁶

[Again, 'man is a noun' signifies the quality proper to that noun but denotes itself. This is what our predecessors called the material imposition. The material imposition is a *vox* denoting itself.]

Peter Helias reiterates this view, similarly acknowledging that it was the opinion of his predecessors, the *antiqui*.⁴⁷ In both cases, we see a return to the distinction between signification and denotation, but with a further nuance. *Nominatio* is now used not only for the signification of a particular referent, but for the semantic mechanism by which a *vox* can denote itself.⁴⁸ In other words, *nominatio* is at least partially concerned with the capacity of *grammatica* to describe and analyse language.

At stake here is Grammar's very hold on language, a hold maintained only through the careful elaboration of a metalinguistic framework. The Adelardian passage in effect acts as justification for the grammatical tradition itself, whose central doctrine was, and in certain respects still is, the divisibility of language into the parts of speech. In the West, the history of this notion is a story of both elaboration and denial, and, once again, it is a history that starts with Aristotle's *De interpretatione* and the division of the proposition into noun and verb.⁴⁹ The more complex division of language into eight parts in the later Greek grammatical tradition is transmitted to Latin grammar through the work of Priscian, but a system predicated on the features of Greek was not always the perfect match for the realities of Latin, and this disparity was most keenly felt in Latin's lack of an article.⁵⁰ In the following chapters, we shall see that this issue certainly has not been resolved by the twelfth century, and was particularly acute in teaching contexts where the mother tongue of the students 'bettered'

Latin in this respect. Nevertheless, medieval grammar considered the Latin system of the *partes orationis* inevitable and inalterable, part of the very nature of *grammatica*, and it forms the unquestioned doctrinal background to the glossators' attempts to clarify the difficult grammar of the classical text.

The division of language into parts of speech rests principally on the attribution of a *significatio* known as the *significatio principalis*, which is shared at the most abstract level by all the words in the group.⁵¹ Sometimes different *partes* can share the same *significatio*, and in these cases, the application of a further criterion is needed. This is the *officium*, or function, whose precise nature is somewhat changeable, but which has both semantic and syntactic weight.⁵² William of Conches for example explains the difference between *lego* ('I read') and *lectio* ('reading') in the following way:

Sepe enim voces habent eandem significationem ut 'lego' et 'lectio', nec tamen sunt eadem pars orationis quia non habent idem officium, sepe vero idem officium ut proprium nomen et pronomen nec tamen sunt eadem pars orationis quia non habent eandem significationem et ideo unum sine alio ad discernendas partes orationis non sufficit.⁵³

[For often *voices* have the same signification, for example, 'I read' and 'the reading', but they are not the same part of speech because they do not have the same function; but often [they have] the same function, like the proper noun and the pronoun, but they are nevertheless not the same part of speech, because they do not have the same signification and therefore the one without the other is not enough to distinguish the parts of speech.]

A refinement of this argument is found in the *albus/albedo* conundrum used by both Adelard and William of Conches to show how the same *significatio* can be signified in different ways. As we have seen, Adelard introduced this puzzle immediately before the intervention of the *materiale impositum*, in order to demonstrate that the imposition of a metalinguistic terminology is a necessary prerequisite for the differentiation of the two terms. For William, the idea of *officium* has an important role, but he also uses the term *modus significandi* (mode of signifying), in tackling this problem:

Sed de adiectivis nominibus queremus quid significant. Dicimus igitur quod 'albus' idem accidens significat quod et 'albedo' sed aliter quia determinat inherentiam illius accidentis et subiecti quod

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hoc nomen 'albedo' non facit. Ergo hec duo nomina non in re significata differunt sed in modo significandi.⁵⁴

[But let us ask what adjective nouns signify. Therefore let us say that the accident 'white' signifies the same as 'whiteness', but in another way, because it determines the inherent nature of that accident in the subject, which whiteness does not do. Therefore, these two nouns do not differ in the thing signified but in the mode of signifying.]

For Peter Helias in turn, the *modus significandi* is what in the final event allows the taxonomy of the *partes orationis* to exist at all:

Hic enim modus significandi qui est significare substantiam cum qualitate, facit quod nomen sit et dicatur una pars orationis ... [fol. 16^{va}] Omnia vero nomina habent illum modum significandi.⁵⁵

[For this mode of signifying, which is to signify substance with quality, means that it is a noun and may be called a part of speech ... Truly, all nouns have that mode of signifying.]

There is however still further work for grammarians at this stage in the invention of language, for the various parts of speech have further features, distinct from the *significatio principalis*, which also contribute to their classification as one part of speech or another. These are the accidents, the area of grammar in which William of Conches believed his predecessors to have been particularly negligent: *sed in expositione accidentium erraverunt* ('but they erred in their explanation of the accidents').⁵⁶ Twelfth-century grammarians after William did examine the accidents in enough detail to be able to sub-divide them into two types – those which qualified the principal meaning of a word (as a word) and those which did not. The first type were accorded the status of *secundarie significationes*, and included the gender of nouns and the tense and number of verbs. The second, non-qualifying type, such as the species of nouns or verbs, fell under the heading of *proprietas communis*.⁵⁷ The anonymous authors of the *Tria sunt* and the *Promisimus* glosses on Priscian spurn this distinction as frivolous, and, true to developments in grammatical doctrine later in the century, grammarians preferred to divide accidents into those which were useful for construction and those which were not.⁵⁸

Once again, it is to Boethius that we should turn for the source of this doctrine of secondary signification. In his commentary on the *De interpretatione*, Boethius had translated Aristotle's definition of the

verb as follows: *Verbum autem est quod consignificat tempus, cuius pars nihil extra significat* ('Moreover, the verb is that which consignifies time, whose parts signify nothing other than different times'). This is, of course, the inverse of the noun, which is *sine tempore* ('without time').⁵⁹ For both William of Conches and Peter Helias the accidents of the *secundaria significatio* type, that is those which do qualify the signification, are precisely *consignificationes*, a notion of crucial importance in later Modistic grammar.⁶⁰ Thus the endings of the verb, which add a temporal dimension to the verb's meaning, are consignifiers.

Although the Modistae and their twelfth-century forebears may have believed that they were constructing a purely theoretical semantic system, it is worth pointing out that this model of principal and secondary signification in fact corresponds very closely to the inflectional system of the Latin language itself, probably the most important aspect for any student of Latin to master. Moreover, it is not surprising that so much attention was paid to inflectional morphology at a time when vernaculars like Old French were in the process of shedding such a system.⁶¹ In other words, the doctrine of secondary signification is yet further evidence of a negotiation in pedagogical practice between grammatical theory and linguistic reality. This negotiation is central to this book, and is seen very clearly in the myths of language's origin which seek refuge from postlapsarian chaos in a monolingual past. Moreover, the overriding preoccupation with individual words as the basis of language and meaning is, as we shall see, enacted in the way that Latin was learnt, moving from words to more complex units of meaning. The double-sidedness of the word is also perpetuated into the classroom, for there too it was treated as both a lexical and a morphological item. But even within these broad concerns we find in grammatical pedagogy the echoes of theory and its mythologised forms. Lexical glosses for example deal with meaning, but more specifically, meaning at the level of the *nominata*, for context is one of their most important considerations. Definition must function in a particular denotational context, for it is of no use to the reader of a text or the learner of Latin to know that the noun *canis* 'signifies substance'. Even the form of the names bestowed by the *prima impositio* is echoed in pedagogical practice, for just as names were imposed in 'citation-form', that is the nominative singular for nouns and the first person present indicative for the verb, so glossators use these forms as the basis of their

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grammatical instruction.⁶² These forms are considered in theory and used in practice as the starting-points for all declension and conjugation. Even the classroom study of grammatical inflections or endings has its echoes in the theory of consignification. Time and again in the following chapters we shall see a complex interchange between the forms of theory and the forms of practice. This is true even of the earliest stages of Latin literacy, of reading word by word.

Reading word by word 1: the role of the vernacular

Adelard of Bath's personified *Grammatica* is the means by which the Latin language is brought under control and made susceptible to human analysis. Indeed, in this and many other twelfth- and thirteenth-century accounts, Latin and *grammatica* are virtually synonymous. Both are characterised by ideas of order, analogy and system; there are rules to be observed. In stark contrast, the vernaculars of France and England in particular were a site of disorder, with French and English not only changing in both their spoken and written forms, but in some cases competing against each other for cultural primacy. Neither had at this point what we might term a written grammatical 'constitution', and both form part of a linguistic map that Michael Clanchy has called 'extraordinarily complex'.¹ Indeed, one of the most important cultural productions of this period attests to this complexity in a very striking way. The Eadwine Psalter, named after its Canterbury scribe and recently and securely assigned by the late Margaret Gibson to a mid-twelfth century date (1155–1160), articulates visually the complex interrelationships of Latin and vernaculars in England a century after the Norman Conquest.² The manuscript contains in parallel columns the three Latin versions of the Psalms; the Gallican in the outer column, with the Hebrew and Roman Psalters alongside on each page. The so-called Hebrew Psalter is glossed with Anglo-Norman, to form 'a convenient translation in the current vernacular of status'.³ However, the Roman Psalter's Old English gloss (this version was the official one in pre-Conquest England) seems to derive from an entirely different impulse. It preserves a set of already fossilised and archaic forms whose function was not to make the Latin text more accessible but rather, in a context of linguistic and political rivalry, to provide some record and recognition of the old and increasingly redundant vernacular of a conquered people. Moreover, the cultural competition that we see in this manu-

script is exacerbated by a rapid expansion in this period in the use of documentary material for all sorts of legal and bureaucratic transactions, sometimes using the vernacular, sometimes Latin. If we are to attempt to understand literate culture in England and northern France in the twelfth century, the relationship of Latin to mother tongues has to be a central concern.⁴

The classroom represents one forum in which these fundamental issues are translated into practice, and of course, the acquisition of Latin literacy endows them with a particular urgency. It has often been remarked for example that in his *Doctrinale* (1199), the elementary grammar *par excellence* of the late twelfth-century, Alexander of Villa Dei starts by inviting teachers to explain his versified treatise to young students (*pueri*) in their mother tongue (*laica lingua*), in order to render it more accessible.⁵ This invitation represents an affirmation of existing expository practice, for, as Tony Hunt has shown in a series of studies culminating in his magisterial *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, an enormous variety of Latin school-texts (ranging from dictionaries to classical authors) were supplied with lexical, vernacular glosses. Indeed, thanks to the labours of Hunt and many other scholars, these glosses are probably the best documented of all medieval annotations, probably because they seem to offer a point of entry to the seemingly inaccessible territory of the glossator, perhaps even offer clues to location and the sense of a 'real voice'.⁶ Moreover, because they are concerned with definition and equivalence between terms, they are of immense importance to philologists and historians of language. However, it will be the argument of this chapter that concentrating solely on vernacular glosses significantly distorts our picture of medieval reading practice, and that looking at the role of the vernacular only in terms of lexical analysis is equally misleading; its traces can be found not only in glosses to do with meaning, but also those concerned with form, and with syntax.⁷

It cannot be denied that lexical glosses in the vernacular – which I shall term translation glosses – are an integral part of using authoritative texts to learn Latin, but the more important question to ask is how they function.⁸ Horace's *Satires* present a particularly rich source for such a study, for their highly topical and demotic vocabulary provided an excellent opportunity for the learning of useful, everyday Latin. For example, the fourth and eighth of the second book of the *Satires* with their detailed gastronomic descrip-

tions are an excellent vehicle for learning Latin terms for a wide range of foods (fruits, fish, meats) and wine. Similarly, Horatian meditations on the value of the simple life in the *Satires* list standard household objects (jugs, plates and so on) as an integral part of their argument. To a certain extent therefore, the *Satires* were used in the same way as the dictionaries of everyday life which enjoyed great popularity in the latter half of the twelfth century and which were also very heavily glossed.⁹ Adam of Petit-Pont's *De utensilibus*, written in the middle of the century, takes the form of a guided tour around a country estate and presents a wealth of Latin vocabulary in the guise of a series of *ekphrases*. One *accessus* to this text makes its pedagogic impetus clear: *Intencio auctoris est colligere sub compendio nomina utensilium et rerum usitatissimarum que multis etiam eruditis ignota erant* ('the intention of the author is to collect into one collection the names of the tools and most often used things, of which many learned men were indeed ignorant').¹⁰ Alexander Nequam's *De nominibus utensilium* is more domestic in scope, and is aimed at an educational level that fits more easily with the Horace glosses explored in this chapter: *Intentio auctoris [sic] est nomina utensilium in summam unam colligere ad promotionem et ad instructionem minus provectorum* ('the intention of the author is to collect together in one treatise the names of useful items for the betterment and instruction of the less advanced').¹¹

Although learning vocabulary from classical texts is inevitably a more haphazard affair than working through a specially designed wordbook, glossators of Horace and of the twelfth-century dictionaries are united in their purpose of using the vernacular as a way of mining the lexical riches of Latin texts. Indeed, as Augusto Marinoni demonstrated in one of the first studies to argue for the cultural value of medieval dictionaries, we find the best precedents for the techniques of lexicographers in the classroom exposition of authoritative texts, for in both Antiquity and the Middle Ages, it is the disjunction between the language of 'authority' and the language of the learner that generates the need for both translation glosses and bilingual dictionaries.¹² The Latin text must be opened up by reference to the vernacular. This has important ramifications for how we think about the function of translation in this period: it is not a question of recreating what Du Bellay termed the *naïf* of one language in the other, target language.¹³ Unlike many of the other kinds of gloss I examine in this book, translation glosses are servile, are always

subsidiary to the text, because the vernacular is always subsidiary to Latin.¹⁴

Glosses on the *Satires* give the force of practice to these seemingly abstract points. The two manuscripts I have chosen for this study, ms Cambridge, Peterhouse 229 (c) and ms Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1780 (R), are both late twelfth-century copies of Horace with systematic, pedagogic exposition of the text.¹⁵ c is a manuscript with several layers of glossing, the last of which dates from the early thirteenth century and contains English vernacular equivalents; R is localisable on similar grounds to Northern France. In both cases, as in the wordbooks of the same period, it is the terminology of household objects, food and plants which forms the focus for translation glosses. For example, *trulla* (ladle) is translated as *godet* in c (while R prefers a Latin synonym, *vasem fictile*).¹⁶ Similarly, the term *gutus* (flask) is translated *platel* in c and in R, given a general synonym, *vas*.¹⁷ Sometimes both glossators used vernacular equivalents. Thus *radices* (radishes) is translated in both c (*rayces*) and R (*raix*).¹⁸ *Rapula* (turnips, nominative neuter plural) is dealt with in a similar way. In c it is translated (*navens*), furnished with further information of a grammatical nature (*hoc rapulum*, where the nominative case shows that it is a neuter noun), and in another instance, glossed with a generic Latin equivalent (*radices*, 'roots').¹⁹ In R, the glossator translates into Anglo-Norman in one instance (*idest rabbes*),²⁰ and provides a Lombard equivalent in another (*est navellonim in langobardi*).²¹ The c glossator shows the same concern with translation and grammatical form in the gloss on *hillis* (sausage): *hillis, hec hilla, le anduil* ('sausages' [dative plural], 'the sausage' [feminine nominative singular], followed by translation gloss).²²

This bias towards the everyday in the translation glosses can be explained by the fact that these Latin terms are unlikely to have Latin synonyms, and that the alternative strategy of descriptive paraphrase in Latin would inevitably be rather prolix. But perhaps more importantly, it also signals something about how the vernacular, as a discourse, was perceived. All of these terms are distinctly domestic in character, and the vernacular is used to define them because the objects to which they refer would have been known to the *pueri* in their mother tongue.²³ It is as if we have two contiguous spaces, both denoted by female figures, in which the different vocabularies function. First, we have the space of the 'Mother'-tongue, taught by the

mother and inhabited by everyday objects, food, all that relates to the household. In the second space, which belongs to *Grammatica* and the *magistri*, we have the broader vocabulary of Latin which offers access to literacy and all that it entailed – Nequam’s conveniently ambiguous *promotio* (‘betterment’).²⁴ It is these female signifiers which enable medieval writers to develop a powerful topos (drawn originally from St. Paul’s Letter to the Hebrews) in which the study of the *auctores* is figured as a process of lactation, an ingestion of milk in preparation for the solid food of the sacred texts.²⁵

In many glossarial definitions however, the two discourses of *grammatica* and the mother-tongue come together, for it is very common to find translation glosses embedded within complex definitions in Latin. One example concerns the lemma *inulas* (feminine, accusative plural, ‘an onion-like herb’).²⁶ In R, the lemma is translated into French: *idest escalunias*.²⁷ In C, the same vernacular equivalent is supplied (*eschalunies*), but the glossator adds a further comment: *hinnulus in silvis, hinule queruntur in orto* (‘a fawn is found in the woods, herbs in the garden’).²⁸ This gloss seeks to obviate any possible confusion between the near homonyms *hinulus*, the fawn, and *hinula*, the herb. A gloss (possibly authorial) on Nequam’s *De naturis rerum* articulates the difference in much the same way: *hec hinula est scalonia: hic hinnulus est fetus cerva* (‘the *hinula* is a spring-onion, the *hinnulus* is a young deer’),²⁹ while an even closer parallel exists in a gloss on the *Distigium*, long associated with the mid-thirteenth-century writer John of Garland, but reassigned by Tony Hunt to the early years of the century: *hinnulus est fetus cerva ... dicit magister J. de Gallandia [sic], ubi dicit hinnulus in silvis, hinule queruntur in ortis, scilicet escalogne gallice* (‘the *hinnulus* is a young deer, says Master John of Garland, where he says “the hind is found in the woods, herbs in gardens, that is herbs which are escalogne in French”’).³⁰ A precise verbal parallel to the gloss does exist in the work of John of Garland, but in a text known as the *Accentarium*: *hinnulus in silvis, hinnule queruntur in ortis*.³¹ It is impossible to say for certain that the C glossator knew this text, or that both he and John of Garland were drawing on a commonplace tradition. What is clear is that we need to locate translation glosses within the wide range of contemporary texts concerned with linguistic definition and which use the common strategy of differentiating ambiguous forms.³² Moreover, we find exactly the same concerns transferred from the sphere of *Grammatica* to that of the mother-

tongue in Walter Bibbesworth's mid-thirteenth-century *Traité* for teaching French to English speakers, dedicated to Denise de Moutechesny and for the edification of her children. Here, *la levere* ('lip') and *le leverer* ('hare') and *la livere* ('pound') and *le livere* ('book') need to be distinguished by interlinear glosses in English.³³ In this example, the gendered foundations of literacy are revealed; while the teaching of a vernacular to children is entrusted to an upper-class woman, the grammatical exposition of a Latin text is in the hands of the male *magistri*.

Translation is often used to disentangle near homonyms. The c gloss on *cuculum* ('cuckoo', masculine singular noun, accusative case) is at pains to avoid confusion with *cucullus* (a hood or cloak): *idest cuculum; hic cucullus, cufel, hic cuculus, cuku* ('that is a cuckoo; *hic cucullus*, a cloak, *hic cuculus*, a cuckoo'), where the vernacular is used as a means of distinguishing the terms.³⁴ Later in the text, *lusciniās* ('nightingales', feminine plural, accusative case) is glossed by both the c and r glossators with vernacular equivalents and further information on the nightingale itself is supplied. The r gloss supplies a diminutive form of *avis* to convey the smallness of the nightingale (*avi[n]cula*), and translates as follows: *scilicet carovello*.³⁵ The c gloss runs: *aves bene cantantes, anglice chardunrol* ('birds which sing well, in English the *chardunrol*').³⁶ Words in the text become the occasion for translation and definition, for learning a language and for learning about the world.

The use of the term *anglice* in the last gloss alerts us to an important problem. So far we have discussed 'the vernacular' as if it were relatively unproblematic, but, as Michael Clanchy and others have made clear, this is far from the case. In twelfth-century England in particular, English and Anglo-Norman vie not only with Latin, but with each other for position as the language of written record, of literature and of literate culture in general. Where a glossator writes *anglice* or *gallice* to introduce a vernacular gloss, there is an acknowledgment of the need to comment on which particular vernacular is being used. Indeed, Tony Hunt points out that the terms are often misapplied in the glosses and witness to the interpenetration of the two languages.³⁷ The position is complicated further by the strict division of oral and written in the same period; a verbal transaction conducted orally in one language may be recorded in writing in another. The choice of language for the written record will depend on its status in that particular context, whether it be legal, bureaucratic or

pedagogic. We know, for example, that in the earliest stages of the grammatical curriculum teaching was conducted in the mother-tongue, but we have very few vernacular glosses because Latin was more suitable for recording the exposition in writing.³⁸ (Moreover, the vernacular glosses we do have tend to come from that latter part of the period I am discussing here; in both C and R, they are written in hands which probably date from the early thirteenth century.) The strict hierarchy of languages has important ramifications for how we describe the function of the translation glosses. Their aim is not to 'translate' in the sense of making a 'new' text, but rather to transform the text into a source of *Latin* vocabulary. This kind of non-appropriative translation is embodied most memorably in the medieval interlinear translations of the Psalms, such as Eadwine's Psalter, where the Latin text remains the focus of attention and the word by word glosses follow its style and syntax slavishly. They do not produce an autonomous vernacular text but a key to reading the Latin.

In other words, even translation glosses are part of a word by word reading that is essentially grammatical, or Latin-oriented in function. Translation is part of a project in the service of Latinity, not in the service of the vernacular. Moreover, as I suggested earlier, the relationship of the two discourses needs to be addressed not only in lexical but also in morphological (formal grammatical) and syntactic approaches to the text. For example, in C, *capiti* ('capital', dative singular) is glossed *hoc capita* (read *caput*), *lo chatel*; *guttus* ('flask', nominative singular) explained by *hic guttus*, *platel* and *hillis* ('sausages', ablative plural) by the comment *hillis*, *hec hilla*, *le anduil*.³⁹ Similarly, the gloss on *concinnus* ('agreeable') distinguishes *cinnus* and *hec cinus*, which in turn is given both a generic synonym and a translation gloss: *arbor*, *aube espine* ('a tree, a pine').⁴⁰ In these glosses, the demonstrative adjectives *hic*, *hec* and *hoc* are used in conjunction with the nominative form of the lemma to indicate the grammatical gender of the individual words, a crucial factor in determining the declension to which they belonged. At this point, it seems likely that students would have been invited to decline the lemma, singular and plural, in all its cases, to participate in *declinatio* (declension). Word-based glosses do not concern themselves only with meaning, but with grammatical form and grammatical correctness, and are the traces of a pedagogic technique well attested in the twelfth century. Most famously, John of Salisbury recounts how his

grammar teacher, Bernard of Chartres, went through the *littera* of the text, commenting on meaning, form and figures.⁴¹

The same technique is used with purely Latin glosses. On some occasions, a synonym is used to help clarify the lemma: (*cavis* ('in holes') is glossed *hic cavus, in cavernis terre* ('the cave, in caverns of earth'),⁴² on others merely the nominative form and the demonstrative adjective are supplied, for example the glosses on *nate* (*hec natis*, 'buttock') and *caliepdrum* (*hoc caliendrum*, 'headdress').⁴³ This is particularly important in glosses on adjective nouns of the third declension, which give the nominative form for each of the genders along with the appropriate pre-positional term. There are three such glosses in *c*: *acclinis* ('inclined') is glossed by *hic et hec acclinis et hoc accline*, *limis* ('askew') by *hic et hec limis et hoc lime* and *comis* ('courteous') by *hic et hec comis*.⁴⁴ The function of the *hic, hec, hoc* glosses is to signal the gender of the noun, and it is for this reason that they only occur with the nominative glosses and not the genitive forms which often accompany them, for the genitive *huius* is the same for all three genders. This same function of differentiating gender is attested in other contexts. For example, a glossator of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* sought to negate the homosexuality of the text by suggesting that for the ancients, *puer* referred to girls as well as boys: *hic et haec puer antiqui dicebant*.⁴⁵ Elsewhere, a Latin-Occitan word list employs these terms in pre-position only for the nouns of the third declension, where the gender is not clearly signalled by the ending.⁴⁶

This grammatical approach to the individual words of the text leaves us with an important question. Are the *hic, hec, hoc* glosses also a form of translation? It is tempting to see them as the result of pressure from the vernacular context, and to suggest that the Latin demonstrative pronoun is being used as an article – *the* cave, *the* vase. If this is the case, then the Latin of the text is being made to conform to the structures of the mother tongue of the students, presumably in order to lend a veneer of familiarity to the difficult language they were trying to master. But the relative status of Latin and English and/or French should make us rather sceptical about this hypothesis, for if the vernacular is refashioning the Latin text, then, to use Dante's terms, the Latin has become the 'servant', the vernacular the 'master' discourse.⁴⁷ Now, this would, of course, directly contradict the situation we have analysed with the translation glosses. But what else can the *hic, hec, hoc* glosses be?⁴⁸

Looking at the history of the article in the grammatical tradition

offers us a way out of this impasse. We need, as so often, to start with Aristotle, who, in Book 20 of the *Poetics*, postulated the existence of four parts of speech, ὄνομα (noun), ῥῆμα (verb), σύνδεσμος (conjunction) and ἄρθρον (article). In this he was broadly followed by the Stoics, the Alexandrian grammarians and by Varro, who translated ἄρθρον as *articulus*.⁴⁹ In the Latin tradition after Varro, the article becomes important because of its absence. In this as in so many other areas, the Romans strove to match and absorb the Greek heritage, and the lack of an article in Latin was an irritating divergence from the Greek pattern. Indeed, grammarians attempted to compensate for this lack by adding the interjection to the list of Latin *partes*, thereby retaining numerical parity between the *partes orationis* of the two languages.⁵⁰ Quintilian's defensiveness on this issue is very clear: *noster sermo articulos non desiderat* ('our own language does not require articles') and Priscian, working in a bilingual, Greco-Latin context, is forced to reiterate Latin's deficiencies in this respect several times. For example: *Deficit autem praepositivis articulis lingua latina* ('the Latin language moreover lacks pre-positional articles').⁵¹

But this firmness about Latin's lack of an article is tempered by the ever pragmatic Isidore in book I of the *Etymologiae*: *Articuli autem dicti, quod nominibus artantur, id est conligantur, cum dicimus 'hic orator'. Inter articulum autem et pronomen, hoc interest, quod articulus tunc est, quum nomini coniunguntur, ut 'hic sapiens'. Cum vero non coniunguntur, demonstrativum pronomen est, ut hic, haec, hoc* ('[words] which are drawn to nouns, that is tied to them, are called articles, as when we say *hic orator*. There is this difference between the article and the pronoun, that it is the article when they are joined to the noun, for example, *hic sapiens*. But when they are not joined, then it is a demonstrative pronoun, like *hic, haec, hoc*').⁵² And even Priscian had allowed that in very specific circumstances, *hic* might be considered a kind of article: *Nam pronomen hic, quod grammatici in declinatione nominum loco praepositivi, ut dictum est, ponunt articuli, numquam in oratione sensum articuli habet* ('for this pronoun *hic*, which, so it is said, grammarians put in the place of the prepositional article in the declension of nouns, never has the sense of an article in real discourse').⁵³ The phrase *in declinatione* brings us suddenly very close to glossatorial practice, where the use of *hic* is a metalinguistic strategy divorced from proper linguistic usage and practice, and functions instead as an integral part of the pedagogic technique of declension (*declinatio*). The association of *hic, hec, hoc,*

with grammatical declension is made absolutely explicit in Donatus' *Ars minor*, where each noun and adjective declined is accompanied in all cases with the appropriate demonstrative pronoun. Thus: *Magister ... quod declinabitur sic: nominativo hic magister, genetivo huius magistri, dativo huic magistro, accusativo hunc magistrum, ablativo ab hoc magistro*, and so on.⁵⁴ Moreover, a tenth- or eleventh-century grammatical manuscript in Barcelona demonstrates that the use of *hic*, *hec* and *hoc* as articles for pedagogical purposes persisted long after Donatus and Priscian: *Iusticia est nomen prime declinacionis generis femini cum numero singulari nomen pronomen vel articulus prepositus 'haec'* ('Justice' is a feminine noun of the first declension which in the singular is prefaced by the noun or pronoun or article *haec*).⁵⁵ Note the uncertainty about terminology! Later, the earliest surviving treatises on Latin in French from the thirteenth century use the French term *article* to refer to *hic*, *hec* and *hoc* employed in the Latin declensions.⁵⁶ And in a fifteenth-century German manuscript of the *Priscianus maior*, declension paradigms are supplied with *hic* written in blue ink, *hec* in red and *hoc* in black, a visual mnemonic to reinforce the verbal message.⁵⁷

The question of the article is also addressed at a more theoretical level, and two of the most important commentators on Priscian in the twelfth century, William of Conches and Peter Helias, spend some time working through the issues involved. William applies the taxonomic principles of signification and function that I discussed in the previous chapter. Its *significatio* (abstract signification) is delineated as follows: *Articulus ergo est pars orationis apud grecos que neque substantiam nec qualitatem significat, sed secundam de recognitionem notat, quid de significata voce cui adiungit precessit cognicio* ('According to the Greeks, the article is the part of speech which signifies neither substance nor quality, but marks the second recognition of the thing, which recognition proceeds from the signification of the *vox* to which it is joined'). Its *officium* (function) is *extra orationem in doctrina puerorum dictionibus preponi in declinando ad discernendum genus, casum et numerum* ('in the instruction of boys and outside speech, to be placed before words in declining, for distinguishing number, gender and case'). In other words, William the theoretician explicitly equates the use of an article with elementary pedagogic practice.⁵⁸

There are some further refinements in his argument which are worth pondering. William confirms Priscian's statement that Latin

does not have an article, but examines three possible contenders for this role, *idem*, *hic* and *qui*. While all three used in *oratione*, that is to say, in discourse, will have the *significatio* already described, only *hic* has the *officium extra orationem* (the metalinguistic function). William's verdict on *hic* therefore reinforces Priscian's distinction between actual usage and metalinguistic function: *Hic vero videtur prepositivis articulus ex officio quia preponitur in declinatione ad discernendum genus, casum et numerum. Ut hic dominus, huius domini. Non tamen est articulus quia non habet significationem articuli in oratione* ('but *hic* is seen to be an article by its function, because it is put first in declension for distinguishing gender, number and case, like *hic dominus, huius domini*. However, it is not an article because it does not have the significance of an article in discourse').⁵⁹ This position is transmitted to the later grammatical texts by Peter Helias, who, in his commentary on the same passage, summarises the traditional points, affirms the existence of the article in Greek and denies its existence in Latin and allows for the use of *hic* only in metalinguistic contexts.⁶⁰

Neither William or Peter uses this opportunity to remark on the existence of an article in any of the European vernaculars, although both were in the habit of referring to French and other languages for purposes of comparison in other contexts.⁶¹ Moreover, later grammarians such as Alexander Nequam, Robert Kilwardby and Roger Bacon do point out the existence of the article in French but never compare it to the use of *hic* in declensions. For all these writers on language, the article marked an essential difference between their mother tongues and Latin.⁶² It seems that *hic*, *hec*, *hoc* glosses cannot represent a form of translation from the vernacular into Latin, but witness instead to the persistence of an expository technique enshrined in the art of grammar itself.

One crucial issue lies behind my analysis of reading word by word in this chapter, that is to say, the function of the vernacular in learning Latin. The study of lexical translation glosses demonstrates very clearly that the mother tongue of the students was an essential explanatory mode in the learning of Latin vocabulary, while the *hic* glosses raised the question of whether a vernacular framework might have been imposed even onto the grammatical forms of the text, or whether a more metalinguistic strategy was at work. (We shall see exactly the same dilemma in the case of the word order syntax glosses I examine in chapter 9.) Perhaps the question can be answered as

follows: a long-established pedagogic method is adhered to and perpetuated precisely because of its proximity to emerging vernacular forms, forms which guaranteed its pedagogic efficacy. The vernacular is the context in which the technique must be effective, but the technique itself derives from pedagogic and grammatical tradition. Thus, the hold on language that Adelard gave to *Grammatica* is not easily relinquished, and the interdependence of grammatical theory, pedagogic practice and vernacular context is complete. Any attempt to delineate the relationships of Latin and vernacular discourse in this period, whether they be conceived in broadly political, functional or philological terms, must acknowledge the fundamental role played by *grammatica* in mediating and shaping those relationships.

There is one further element that we need to incorporate into this nexus of concerns before moving on to examine other glossing strategies. We have seen that both William of Conches and Peter Helias associate the use of *hic* in declensions with the practice of the *pueri*, the least expert students of Latin, those for whom Alexander Nequam's programme of reading was intended. Later in the century, the author of the *Promisimus* commentary on Priscian confirms this association: *Magister sic declinaret puero 'hic et hec Dis et hoc Dite'* ('the master may decline thus to the boy, *hic et hec Dis et hoc Dite'*).⁶³ Moreover, this author goes on to link the level of the *pueri* with the vernacular: *Similiter in articulis Gallicis, ubi dicitur puero: Ubi ponitur li, cuius casus? Et respondet: Nominativi; et ubi dicitur de, et respondet: Genetivi* ('Similarly with the French articles, when someone says to the boy, "Where *li* is put, what is its case?" And he responds, "The nominative", and "Where *de* is said, (what is the case)?" and he responds, "The genitive").'⁶⁴ This passage is notable in two respects. First, it represents a very early instance of the application of Latin grammatical structures to French, a situation which lasts into the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ Moreover, in using the term *puer* it presents us with a very clear notion of educational level, the sense that certain methods are appropriate for one kind of learner, and not for another. The notion of level is crucial to this book, and I shall be arguing that it is levels of literacy that do more to determine the reading of classical texts than any other consideration, more even than anxieties about the paganness of texts.

Reading word by word 2: grammatical and rhetorical approaches

In the last chapter, we plotted the ways in which the mother-tongue of the *pueri* structured pedagogical approaches to the individual words of a classical text. Translation (vernacular lexical) glosses provided a key for unlocking the treasure-trove of Latin vocabulary represented by Horace's *Satires*, while *hic* glosses were instrumental in conveying formal information about those same words. Both types of gloss raised complex issues about the interaction of vernacular structures with other models for analysing language – drawn principally from the lexicographic and grammatical traditions – and served as a warning that vernacular structures and glossing strategies are not necessarily equated. In this chapter, I want to develop this point by concentrating on word-based glosses whose form and function derive more directly from the tradition of Latin learning, from grammar and from rhetoric. In fact, Latin glosses constitute the vast majority of annotation in medieval manuscripts, but, largely on account of a scholarly tendency which locates the study of glosses in the history of language rather than in the history of reading, they are relatively rarely studied.¹ However, if we are prepared to shift the ground, to move from a study of philology to a study of strategies, Latin glosses can reveal an enormous amount about reading and pedagogic practice. As we shall see, they are firmly grounded in the *trivium* arts of grammar and rhetoric, and demonstrate forcibly the need to see our form of medieval reading as one manifestation of a wider set of textual disciplines and concerns.

The connection between glossing and *grammatica* is most obviously found in annotations which deal with the individual words of the texts not as signifiers, but as parts of speech (*partes orationis*). The myths of language invention I explored in chapter 4 make it plain that this aspect of the word was the core of the grammatical system, as crucial to the continued comprehension of Latin as any lexical

training. Medieval grammar developed an intricate series of criteria for distinguishing one *pars orationis* from another, in terms of their abstract and non-referential *significatio* (verbs signify action or passion), secondly through their *officium* (function) and last through their various secondary significations (*consignificationes*), manifested in their accidents. The criteria of *significatio* and *officium* are dealt with in grammatical treatises proper, but, for obvious reasons, the inflections or accidents of individual Latin words were an immediate concern for glossators of classical texts; thus, the theory of *consignificatio* in the treatises is directly paralleled by a pragmatic concern with word endings in the glosses. The parallels extend further. Just as the grammatical tradition remained resolutely Aristotelian in seeing the noun (which in medieval thought includes both nouns and adjectives) and the verb as the most important of the *partes orationis*, the morphological glosses concentrate almost exclusively on these two fundamental forms.²

The examples of morphological glossing which follow are taken in the main from the MS C, where a concern for reading word by word persists. In one instance, a very basic point about gender and inflection is enshrined in a gloss on *merulas* (accusative plural, 'female blackbirds') and *palumbes* (accusative plural, 'pigeons' (of either gender)): *merulus pro mascula, merula pro femina; hic et hec palumbis* ('*merulus* for the masculine, *merula* for the feminine, [whereas] *palumbes* is both masculine and feminine').³ In the case of *merulas*, the gloss provides information about the masculine *-us* and feminine *-a* endings for first and second declension nouns. For a third declension noun like *palumbes* (which the glossator records as *palumbis*), the by now familiar tactic of a *hic, hec* gloss is called on to show that both genders have the same form. Elsewhere, the glosses work in an even more compressed fashion. *Depugis* (ablative plural, 'thin-hipped ones') is glossed *puga, -ge* (nominative and genitive singular, 'rump'), and *primores* (accusative plural, 'leaders') is annotated *primor, primoris* (again, nominative and genitive singular).⁴ In both cases, the oblique form in the text is glossed not by a lexical equivalent but by itself, in nominative and genitive singular forms; the function of the gloss is therefore not to develop meaning, but to instruct the learners about the noun's form and the declension to which it belongs. The practice of using these two forms as the key to a noun's declension undoubtedly stems from the form of the paradigms in the *Ars minor* of Donatus. There nominative and genitive are the first two cases to

be given for each declined noun, for once these are known the form of the remaining cases will be obvious. Of course, the nominative enjoyed special status, for it was considered to be the form in which the *dictiones* were imposed at the moment of language's invention.

The genitive too has a special, if slightly more pragmatic purpose. One manuscript of the *Ars minor* makes this explicit by pointing out that it is the very basis of the five-declension system:

Declinationes nominum quae in genitiuo casu singulari requiruntur, quot sunt? V. Prima quae est? cuius genitiuus singularis in ae diptongon desinit, ut haec Musa huius Musae, et est semper producta. Secunda quae est? cuius genitiuus singularis in i productam desinit, ut hic magister, huius magistri...⁵

[As for the declensions of the nouns – which are discovered in the genitive singular case – how many are there? Five. What is the first? The one whose genitive singular ends in the diphthong ae, for example, *Musa*, *Musae* and it is always long. What is the second? The one whose genitive singular ends in a long i, for example, *magister*, *magistri*, and so forth.]

The glossator therefore transfers established grammatical practice into the reading of an *auctor*, precisely because that practice offers the best way of rendering the classical text useful to the most elementary readers.

The declension of adjectives posed slightly different problems, for here the concern is less the form of the genitive than the nominative forms of the three genders. Glossing strategies are adapted accordingly. For adjectives of the first and second declensions, the Peterhouse glossator's approach to *vafer* ('cunning') is typical: it is glossed *vafer*, *-fra*, *-frum*.⁶ Where the genders cannot be distinguished according to their endings, the use of *hic*, *hec* and *hoc* that we examined in the previous chapter comes into play. The glossing of verbs operates according to the same basic principles – the information required to establish the form of the conjugation is always given, and in some circumstances, more details are supplied. There are relatively few of these glosses, but the following is typical: *imitari* ('to imitate'): *imitor*, *aris* ('I imitate, you imitate').⁷ When a participle or gerund form is used in the text, the glosses aim to show how that form is arrived at. *Sonaturum* ('about to sound', accusative of the future participle) is glossed *sono*, *-as*, *-ans*, *sonatum*, *-tu(rum)* ('I sound, you sound, sounding, sounded, about to sound').⁸ Once again,

this method seems to be dependent on the arrangement of the morphological paradigms in Donatus' *Ars minor*, where the individual conjugations are established on the basis of the first and second person singular forms. In all these glosses and in Donatus, the focus of attention is on endings, the accidents on which the grammatical system rests.

With purely Latin lexical glosses (or synonym glosses, as I propose to call them), the link between glossing and *grammatica* is just as close. Many synonym glosses simply propose an equivalent Latin term for the lemma and follow a uniform and consistent strategy of defining according to context. Consequently, the metalanguage they employ is also remarkably consistent. In the vast majority of cases, the gloss is introduced by the term *id est*, best translated as 'that is to say'.⁹ For example, in the second satire, *olet* ('he smells', S, I, 2, 27) is glossed *olet idest sapit* ('he smells, that is to say he reeks of'), and *perditior* ('more lost', S, I, 2, 15) by the phrase *idest pauperior* ('that is to say, poorer'), which justly emphasises the financial context of the passage.¹⁰ In glosses which deal with differentiation and distinction, a crucial concern for the C glossator, context takes on still more importance. This is particularly clear in a gloss on *cippus*, an equivocal noun with three common meanings.¹¹ The first is 'boundary marker' and the glossator is eager to point out that this is the one in use in Horace's eighth satire: *cippus terminus est inter duas terras, cippus agri: cippus [est] finis, cippus tumulorum est primum cippus, signatque obstacula cippus* ('*cippus* is the end point between two areas, the boundary marker of the field: *cippus* is the limit: *cippus* is [said] in the first place of hills, and *cippus* means obstacles').¹² The R glossator is explicit about the status of *cippus* in that context (fol. 72^r): *cipus [sic] proprie hic accipitur, scilicet pro stipes* ('*cippus* is here used in its proper sense, that is instead of a tree-trunk [as a boundary marker]' (my emphasis)). The use of *hic* – 'here' – demonstrates a strong emphasis on contextual meaning, the essential characteristic of the semantic level of *nominatio*. Thus, when the Peterhouse gloss on *fastum* offers two definitions: *fastum ad scriptorium librorum vel fastum superbiam* ('*fastum*, [a calendar] for the writing of books, or *fastum*, pride') we know that the implicit next step was for the glossator to decide between the two, according to context.¹³

Annotations on the lemma *vappa* show this process more openly. It first occurs in conjunction with *nebulo* ('a prodigal') and signifies a worthless and immoral individual.¹⁴ The C gloss however presents

both figurative and the literal possibilities (along with the familiar differentiation technique): *hic vappa istrio, hec vappa potus* ('the *vappa* is an actor, the *vappa* is a drink'). A further marginal gloss elaborates: *vappa proprie vocatur vinum insipidum, idest sine sapore, quod recte vocatur ille qui nullam virtutem habet* ('*vappa* properly means insipid wine, that is [wine] without taste, which quite rightly is used to name the one who has no virtue').¹⁵ In R, the gloss indicates the figurative usage, *sine condimento virtutis* ('without the savour of virtue'), but employs the literal meaning in other contexts elsewhere in the *Satires*, when *vappa* is glossed *pravo* [sic] *vino* ('poor wine').¹⁶ In the lexicographic tradition, Osbern of Gloucester's *Panormia* or *Liber derivationum* (which I discuss fully later in this chapter), preserves the same distinction of *vinum* ... *sine sapore* ('wine without taste') and *garcifero* ('lad').¹⁷

So far we have looked at morphological and semantic notes in isolation, but it is important to realise that they often form part of the same gloss. For example, in c, the adjective *petum* ('squinting'), is explained *petus, -ta, -tum, idest petulantem* ('squinting [in masculine, feminine and neuter forms], that is to say, lascivious'), where the synonym is given in the accusative case like the lemma, while the adjectival forms convert it to the nominative.¹⁸ Another important class of gloss couches information on grammatical form in 'derivational' material, with the verb as originating form. For example, the glossator mistakes the ablative absolute *parto* ('that having been procured') from the verb *pario* for the ablative absolute from *parco* ('I spare') and glosses: *parto, partus, peperci, partum, parto, parsi, parsum sum, inde parsimonia castumargia conversio* ('I spare, spared, I spared, spared, having been spared, I spared, I have been spared, whence, parsimony, the opposite of free of money').¹⁹ Osbern's *Panormia* uses exactly the same structure to arrive at the same result: *Parco, is, peperci, vel parci, parsum sum* ... *Item a preterito parsi addita monia, hec parsimonia*. Similarly with the lemma *gnatus* ('born'), the c gloss runs: *gnatus; a gigno, is, antiqui dicebant a nascor, natus* ('one born, from I generate, you generate, the ancients said it [was derived] from *nascor*, I am born, *natus*, born').²⁰

This process of derivation is a fundamental part of medieval textual pedagogy; it is also a crucial notion in medieval language theory. Following Priscian, all medieval grammarians agreed in attributing to words two species; some words, like *mons*, exist in their original form (*primitiva* or *principalia*) and others, like *montanus*, are derived

(*derivativa*).²¹ For Hugh of Saint-Victor, the primitive forms were those invented in the *prima impositio*, and all other forms were derived from that primal moment.²² *Derivatio* is not however a diachronic model of language development, for in most cases, the *primitivum-derivativum* distinction is ahistorical, even figurative. Peter Helias makes this perfectly clear: *Derivare compositum est a de et rivo; derivare namque proprie est rivum de fonte ducere, et inde methaphorice translatum est ad dictiones* ('*Derivare* is composed from *de* (from) and *rivus* (river), for to derive is properly to lead a river from a source, whence it is metaphorically transferred to (apply to) words').²³ Osbern of Gloucester describes *derivatio* in the preface to his *Liber derivationum* (*The Book of Derivations*) (finally completed in the third quarter of the twelfth century) and says that teachers, its most advanced practitioners, *in multiplices se derivandi rivos multipliciter extendunt* ('extend themselves in a multiple way into many rivers by deriving').²⁴

This comment returns to derivation as pedagogical practice, and, once again, we find Priscian at the head of the tradition. In his *Partitiones*, the student of Virgil's *Aeneid* is asked to derive forms from the particular word under scrutiny in the *auctor's* text: *Fac derivativa ab eo* ('make derived forms from it').²⁵ Now, this fictional, Greek-speaking student stood in exactly the same relation to the Latin language as the twelfth-century *puer*. In both cases, Latin was a foreign language with lexis to be learnt and memorised, and in both cases, derivations on the basis of a literary text were an essential part of this process. In c, the noun *promus* is glossed *hic promus -mi, de promo -mis, unde promptuarium: granarium* ('a steward (*promus*), from the verb I give out (*promo*), whence the storehouse (*promptuarium*), a granary'). The gloss provides the verb from which the noun derives, then derives a further noun from the primitive form. Osbern provides the same information with the same passage from the *Satires* as authority: *promo, -mis ... et hoc promptuarium, idest cellarium ... quod etiam hic promus, - mi dicitur, Horatius: non bibes [sic] diluta, foris est promus*.²⁶

Most glosses only deal with the first of these two stages: indeed the R gloss for *promus* provides a synonym (*claviger*), and a source from which the lemma is supposedly derived: *a promendo cibos* ('from distributing food').²⁷ Comparable instances include the c gloss on *nebulonem* ('rascal'): *a nebula nebulo quia sordide vivens vacuatur a ratione quemadmodum nebula* ('*nebulo* comes from *nebula*, fog,

because living sordidly, he is emptied of reason in the same way as a fog'), where a figurative association is used to justify the derivation,²⁸ and the R gloss on *erucas virides* (the herb rocket), where linguistic information provides the pretext for a botanical digression: *eruce ab eruendo dicuntur, vulgo 'eschirivies', virides, quia in Italia sunt virides meliores, vel secundum alios dicuntur ofellies vel alie herbe utiles ad saporem quas non novimus* ('*eruca* comes from drawing out and is *eschirivies* in the vernacular. *Virides*, because in Italy the green ones are better, and according to others they are called *ofellies*, or they are some other herbs used for seasoning which we do not know').²⁹ Other types include the simple recording of the verb from which the lemma originates (*salacem; a saliendo* ('lecherous, from leaping upon')), the supplying of the noun from which another noun derives (*sicarius: sica est genus gladii qui in cavo defertur ligno* ('assassin: a *sica* is a kind of sword which is carried in a wooden scabbard')), and the derivation of a diminutive (*fecula coa: cum vinum est et a loco fecula, a fece* ('it is Coan wine and *fecula* from the part [of the wine], i.e. from the dregs')).³⁰

Although these glosses differ at the formal level, they are absolutely consistent in their aim, which is to teach a method of generating vocabulary through verbal analogy, the essential feature of any grammatical system. In this way, the student not only learns the new words given in the glosses, but more importantly, imbibes a method which can be applied to all the forms of the Latin language. Exactly the same is true of the derivational method in lexicography. Since Papias' *Elementarium*, written in the 1040s, dictionary entries worked by taking one form and generating vocabulary from it.³¹ Osbern's *Liber derivationum* is based almost entirely on this method:

Cado, is, cecidi, casum, su, verbum neutrale. Inde hic casus, ui; unde hic et haec casualis, et hoc -e, et casualiter adverbium. Et hoc cadaver: unde cadaverosus, a, um. Et hec casia, herba, cuius flos cito decidit; unde Persius; 'haec sibi corrupto casiam dissolvit olivo'.³²

[I fall, you fall, I have fallen, fell, a neutral verb. Whence this case and whence casual and casually, the adverb. And this corpse, whence corpse-like. And wild cinnamon, whose flower quickly falls; whence Persius [says], 'this [the flesh] has dissolved cassia in corrupted oil'.]

As with the derivational glosses, Osbern's concern here is not with definition as such, but with the generation of new, interrelated items of vocabulary. This has important implications for the medieval use of

his book. His 'dictionary' is not a reference work, for it is almost impossible to predict where a given term will appear.³³ Instead, it was probably designed to be read through and memorised, for the derivational method was 'a very convenient way to memorise whole series of Latin words derived from single roots'.³⁴ Osbern himself often stresses this pedagogical role (*ad minus intelligentes instruendos* ('for the instruction of those who understand less')); presumably he is referring here to the *pueri*.³⁵ There is another parallel with the glosses. In short sections called *Repetitiones*, which occur throughout the text in some manuscripts, Osbern used the glossarial, word-list method of simple equivalence. This double approach – *derivatio* and synonymy – reinforces the extremely close relationship between his text and the glossators' dual method of Latin lexical glossing.

The model of source and rivers was used not only to encapsulate the etiology of a single language, but also as a figure for the relationship of Greek and Latin. The idea that Latin derived from Greek enjoyed a particular vogue in the late twelfth century, and an increasing number of lexicographical and grammatical tracts claimed to address this issue.³⁶ The most significant is the *Grecismus* of Eberhard Béthune, which devoted an entire chapter to 'Nouns drawn from Greek' (*De nominibus exortis a greco*).³⁷ In contrast to the strongly diachronic notions of language development and difference in the work of thirteenth-century scholars such as Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste, the 'Greek' we are concerned with here consists of a fixed and limited stock of lexical items which are utterly divorced from any grammatical system.³⁸ The first line of the prologue to Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (*a Graecorum fontibus derivatum*, 'derived from the sources of the Greeks') is often used as the occasion for this kind of reflection, even though Priscian is referring to his *doctrinal* debt to Greek *auctoritates*.³⁹ The anonymous author of the *Promisimus* commentary, written at about the same time as Osbern's *Liber*, comments: *Quidam codices habent derivatum, alii derivatum, quod melius est, quasi 'de rivo natum', et metaphoricè dictum est. Sicut enim ex fonte rivus derivatur, sic ex grecismo derivata est latinitas. Derivare est rivum ex fonte deducere, dirivare rivum in diversas partes trahere* ('Some manuscripts have *derivatum*, others *derivatum*, which is better, as it were "born from the river"; and it is said metaphorically, for just as the river is derived from the source, so Latin is derived from Greek. To derive is to lead a river from the spring, to "dirive" is to draw the river itself into several

tributaries').⁴⁰ Exactly the same idea underwrites the derivational method in Hugutio of Pisa's early thirteenth-century monumental 'dictionary', the *Magne derivationes*.⁴¹

The c and r glossators share these concerns. The best example of their approach is found in glossing on the word *pharmacopola* ('drug-sellers, quacks').⁴² The c glossator who supplies translation glosses remains at the elementary level and simply writes *hic et hec farmacopola* to show that despite its -a ending, the noun can also be masculine. However, the derivational model is applied by two different hands, significantly more sophisticated in aspect and slightly earlier in date. The first *derivatio* runs: *pharma, id est purgatio vel ita grece dicitur illi qui vendunt purgationem* ('*pharma*, that is a purgative, or as the Greeks say, those who sell a purgative') while the second prefers *pharmacon, idest unguentum, polis, civitas, inde pharmacopola, idest unguentrices civitatis* ('*pharmacon*, that is ointment, *polis*, the city, whence *pharmacopola*, that is, the ointment sellers of the city').⁴³ The term *polis* was (mis)understood in several ways, and in the r gloss another of its meanings is called upon: *pharmacia unguentum est a pharmacon quod est ungere et pole vendere inde pharmacopole idest unguentarii* ('*pharmacia* is ointment from *pharmacon* which is to anoint, and from *pole*, to sell, whence *pharmacopole*, that is ointment sellers').⁴⁴ This statement is remarkably close to Osbern: *a pharmacon idest ab unguento, et pola, idest a venditore componamus ... unde Horatius in Sermonibus* ('from *pharmacon*, that is from ointment and *pola*, that is from seller, we compound [*pharmacopola*] ... whence Horace says in the *Satires* ...').⁴⁵ None of the scholiasts or etymologists gloss this term, and it seems very likely that the r glossator knew Osbern's work, or that they were exploiting a common source.⁴⁶

Translation, synonymy and derivation offer a series of increasingly sophisticated ways of exploiting the individual words of a classical text in the service of *grammatica*. Translation glosses make Latin vocabulary available; synonyms expand it; derivational glosses offer a *method* for generating it. But one form of reading word by word takes us to the point where grammar and rhetoric begin to converge. This is *ethimologia* (etymology), probably the most cited and least understood of medieval linguistic practices.⁴⁷ It too enjoyed a revival in the twelfth century, and, once again, grammarians (particularly William of Conches and Peter Helias) and lexicographers (particularly Osbern and later Hugutio) are at the forefront of the renovation of

Ancient and Late Antique doctrine. However, while it would be foolish to deny the influence of Isidore's *Etymologiae* on the later medieval practice of etymology, it will be my argument here that twelfth-century *magistri* are not concerned with an etymology as a tool of epistemological enquiry. Rather they use it in an essentially rhetorical way, as a place of invention, and draw on Cicero and Boethius to do so.

The story seems to run like this. Isidore's definition of etymology does make epistemological claims (*etymologia est origo vocabulorum, cum vis verbi vel nominis per interpretationem colligitur ... Omnis enim rei inspectio etymologia cognita planior est* ('etymology is the origin of words, when the meaning of a verb or noun is deduced through interpretation ... Moreover, once the etymology is known, the inspection of every thing is more straightforward') (my emphasis)), but both Cicero and Boethius value *ethimologia* primarily for its capacity to clinch arguments.⁴⁸ In the *Topics*, etymology (*notatio*) is one of four main inventive strategies: *Multa enim ex notatione sumuntur. Ea est autem, cum ex vi nominis argumentum elicitur* ('Many arguments are derived from etymology. This is what is used when an argument is developed out of the meaning of a word'); this position is affirmed by Boethius in his commentary.⁴⁹ It seems that the Middle Ages inherited a tradition of thinking about etymology with two distinctive strands, the one epistemological and founded in a naturalist or Cratylan view which sees language as the mirror of reality, the other rhetorical and strategic, concerned more with argumentation than 'truth'. Indeed, in the first study to open up this field, Richard Hunt ventured that the *grammatici* were liberated by their ignorance of both Plato's *Cratylus* and Varro's *De lingua latina*, the foundations of Isidore's scheme.⁵⁰ Free from epistemological preoccupations, they could fruitfully use etymology for more specifically linguistic purposes, to explore the letter of the text.

The glosses show that medieval etymology, like derivation, is resolutely synchronic.⁵¹ In the fourth satire, the c glossator notes that *personatus* comes from *persona*: *quasi per se sonans* ('person, as it were, speaking for him or herself').⁵² The same model is found in a gloss on *polipus* ('polyp') in R: *fetor et cutium <et> narium. Polis prima correpta, idest urbs, prima producta, idest plures: pos, idest pes, inde polipus, quasi plures pedes habens, et est piscis quidam in mari, similis cancro, dicitur etiam morbus naris habens plures radices ut fila* ('a foulness of skins and noses. *Polis* with a short first syllable means

“city”, with a long one, it means “many”: *pos* means foot, whence *polipus*, as it were, having many feet, and it is a certain fish in the sea, similar to the crab; moreover, it also means a disease of the nose, having several roots like strands’).⁵³ In both cases, phonetic similarity is used to elicit a plausible meaning for ‘person’ and ‘polyp’, through the mediation of the term *quasi* (‘as it were’)⁵⁴.

This use of phonetic and semantic similarity allies the glossators’ practice very closely with the theory of the grammarians. For example, both William of Conches and Peter Helias take Priscian’s Greek etymology of *vox* in the first book on the *Institutiones* as the occasion for looking at the subject more generally. Before citing Cassiodorus’ definition of etymology, William distinguishes Priscian’s two etymologies for *vox* by saying that ‘the first accords more with the sound and less with the meaning, the second less with the sound but more with the meaning’ (*quarum prior plus concordat cum voce minus cum significatione, posterior minus cum voce, plus cum significatione*).⁵⁵ Peter Helias develops these points and in so doing establishes a framework for thinking about etymology that is only altered in the late thirteenth century:

Ethimologia ergo est expositio alicuius vocabuli per aliud vocabulum sive unum sive plura magis nota, secundum rei proprietatem et litterarum similitudinem, ut lapis quasi ledens pedem, fenestra quasi ferens nos extra. Hic enim rei proprietas attenditur et litterarum similitudo observatur. Est vero ethimologia nomen compositum ab ethimos quod interpretatur verum et logos quod interpretatur sermo, ut dicatur ethimologia quasi veriloquium, quoniam qui ethimologizat veram, id est primam, vocabuli originem assignat.

[Therefore, etymology is the exposition of one word through another word or words which are more familiar, according to the property of the thing and the similarity of letters, such as stone, as it were wounding the feet, window, as it were carrying us outside. Here indeed, the property of the thing is respected and the similarity of letters is observed. Etymology is a noun composed of *ethimos*, which means true, and *logos*, which means speech, so that etymology might also be called *veriloquium* (true-speaking), since he who etymologises describes the true, that is the first, origin of the word.]⁵⁶

This definition sets the agenda for subsequent authors in several ways.⁵⁷ Its use of *quasi* as the introductory formula in an etymology

permits a degree of approximation which is fully exploited, and checked only by similarity of *littera* and *res*, sound and meaning.⁵⁸ One further condition also operates. Etymology must use words that are 'more familiar' (*magis nota*), and so is immediately endowed with pedagogic value.⁵⁹ Perhaps more importantly, Peter's use of the verbal form *ethimologizat* ('he etymologises') conceives of etymology as practice as well as object. This means that its epistemological function – the notion that it represents a knowledge of the true nature of things as opposed to words – is drastically curtailed, and its role as a place of invention is correspondingly increased. But even this is modified in Peter's definition, for, when he equates etymology with *expositio*, he allows it to become not only a way of writing but, crucially for our purposes, a way of reading.⁶⁰ The idea that exegesis is the dominant model of textuality in the Middle Ages seems to be valid even at the level of individual words.⁶¹

There is one further element of etymological theory in this period which Peter Helias does not mention, namely an association of etymology and figurative language. William of Conches hints at this in his Priscian commentary, and it is picked up again in the lexicographical tradition, by Osbern: *Ethimologia, causae redditio, vel causae ratio. Etymologicus, tropicus, figuratus* ('etymology, the yielding up of the cause, or the reason of the cause. Etymological, tropical, figurative'), and then by Hugutio who uses the term *figurativa*.⁶² It is this equivalence that enables us to stop misjudging medieval etymology as bad philosophy and begin valuing it as inventive textual strategy. This must be the way to read passages like the following from an anonymous Priscian commentary: *Notandum quod ethimologia fit tribus modis, littera, sillaba, dictione et quarto confuse. Littera, ut sol, Super Omnia Lucens. Sillaba, ut cadaver, caro data vermibus. Dictione, ut presbiter, prebens iter, fenestra, ferens nos extra. Confuse ut homo, honor omnium animalium* ('it should be noted that etymology comes about in three ways, by letter, by syllable and by word, and, fourthly, by a mixture of these. By letter, as *sun*, shining on all things. By syllable, as *corpse*, flesh given to worms. By word, as *priest*, showing the way, and *window*, carrying us outside. By a mixture, as *man*, the honour of all animals').⁶³

MS C contains a couple of interesting instances of what might be termed syllabic etymology. The adverb *macte* is glossed by the elementary glossator: *idest mactus, idest magis auctus* ('that is magnified, that is greatly increased').⁶⁴ The *litterae* of the lemma are broken

down into parts and each part is used as the basis for a new, more familiar word. In combination, these approximate the meaning of the lemma. (An exact parallel for this gloss existed in Isidore's *Etymologiae*: *mactus, magis auctus gloria*.)⁶⁵ In another case, the definition is structured like the etymologies of contemporary lexicographical texts, where an etymology is proposed and is itself then glossed: *stragula, quasi strata gula, idest ornata*.⁶⁶ In the text, the adjective *stragula* modifies *vestis* ('a covering') and together they refer to the sumptuous coverlet in which the dying miser wraps himself. Thus, the etymology would seem to mean 'covered throat', simultaneously referring to the condition of the miser and equating the idea of covering with decoration: *idest ornata*.⁶⁷

It is significant that for more persistent use of what could be termed expository etymologies we have to turn to MS R. There are straightforward cases of syllabic etymology, probably of the glossator's own invention, for instance where the proper noun *Trivicum* is glossed *proprium nomen ville, quasi tres vicos habens* ('the proper name of a town, as it were, having three districts').⁶⁸ Other examples are best labelled *confuse*. The first stretches vocal similarity to its limit, and is typical in its positing of an etymology at one remove from the lemma: *ridiculus: ridiculariter rotans quasi ioculando sufficiens* ('ridiculous, making ridiculous movements, as it were, providing for laughter').⁶⁹ In the second example, the etymology is permitted only at the cost of semantic inaccuracy: *acipenser* ('sturgeon') is taken to mean a bird of prey, probably through confusion with *accipiter* ('hawk'), though it should be noted that this misconception does occur in other manuscripts and is not a reason for condemning the practice of etymology itself.⁷⁰ In this example, the glossator had to approximate the sound of *acipenser* whilst summarising the meaning of *accipiter*; similarity of sound and sense must be observed. This is done with some success in the definition *quasi acipitens [sic] anserem* ('as it were, grabbing the goose'), which also draws on a long tradition of deriving *accipiter* from the verb *accipio*, to seize.⁷¹ Here the glossator uses the structure of etymology not only to define the lemma, but also as a means of inventing discourse out of the text (*a nomine*); in the practice of etymology, exegesis and rhetoric have become virtually identical.

The R glossator does not follow the commentary and lexicographical traditions slavishly. In the very last of the satires, a proper name *Balatrone* is glossed *quasi baratrone, idest voratore* ('as it were

baratrone, that is to say the devourer') where the etymology is made possible by the use of an invented word, *baratro*.⁷² This recalls the lemma and, more importantly, associates it with the word *baratrum* ('pit' or 'stomach'), which in turn allows the definition *voratores* ('devourers'). There does seem to be an echo here of a late Antique, Pseudo-Acronian gloss on the word *balatrones* in *Satires*, 1, 2: *legitur et 'baratrones', qui bona sua in barathrum mittunt* ('and it can also be read as *baratrones*, those who put all their goods in a pit (*barathrum*')).⁷³ Closer to home, Osbern uses this passage in his etymology (*quod omnia in barathrum mittant*).⁷⁴ In fact, the R glossator's comments are thematically very well attuned to the text, for in the last satire, Horace mocks the ostentatious and gluttonous consumption of *recherché* foods. The etymology serves not only as a definition, but as an intensification of the poem's moral argument, its rhetoric.

Other etymologies in R deal with matters of mythological and geographical interest. One shows the glossator adapting to scribal error and applying 'ancient' learning. The text of the *Satires* in this manuscript presents the city Anxur as *Assur*. The glossator comments: '*a*' sine et '*sur*' barba, inde *assur* dicitur quia ibi colitur in herbis Iupiter ('*a*' means without and *sur* means beard, whence it is called *Assur* because the unbearded Jupiter is worshipped there').⁷⁵ The association of the city with Jupiter is quite accurate, for *Anxurus* was a *cognomen* of the deity, but one which originally meant 'bearded'! For example, Servius' commentaries on Virgil interpret *Anxur* is 'without a razor', because the young Jupiter never shaved his beard.⁷⁶ The glossator manages to impose an etymology onto the corrupt lemma by equating *sur* and *barba*, and overturning the traditional meaning. Later, *Attica* is expounded *idest atheniensis, ab actos quod est litus quia athene iuxta mare sunt, quasi actica, unde etiam acteus, idest atheniensis similiter*.⁷⁷ Here the usual structure of the etymology is reversed, but the technique remains the same. *Attica* (the Athenian Attica) is considered to be *quasi actica*, which comes from *actos*, meaning coastal area. The name of the area thus derives from its location, and an adjective, *acteus*, is derived from the noun. The glossator's most likely source was Hugutio's *Magnae derivationes*, where *attica* is derived from *atta*, *idest litus* ('that is coast'), and the city described thus: *Athene quasi litorales, quia in litore posite erant* ('Athens, as it were coastal, because it was positioned on the coast').⁷⁸

At this point, the etymologies start to verge on the realm of paranomasia or punning. They work by association and offer to

students of the Latin language an almost playful way of reading the text and of generating or 'inventing' verbal knowledge out of it.⁷⁹ Moreover, we have only to look at the many examples of punning etymology and of *argumenta a nota* in Curtius' classic essay on medieval etymology to see how closely linked this practice of interpretation was to models of composition.⁸⁰ We have, it seems, moved a long way from where we started in our examination of reading word by word. From the relative transparency of translation and we have ended up with the complexity of a truly inventive reading practice. Moreover, this shift has been exactly mirrored by the gradual displacement of MS C by MS R over the course of the last two chapters. Again we are reminded that the differing levels of competence addressed by the glossators will determine the nature of their analysis. While the Peterhouse glossator is primarily interested in matters of elementary form and meaning, the Vatican expositor is concerned to put forward an advanced, virtually rhetorical reading of the *Satires*.

One final point. These two chapters on reading word by word have sidestepped a favourite question in scholarship on glosses: which came first, glossary or gloss?⁸¹ Are glossaries and lexicographical works compiled from glosses on texts, or do glossators pillage glossaries for their exposition of the authors? There are two main reasons for not attempting to answer these general questions. Leaving aside issues of practicality (which are enormously problematic), there are questions of historical validity. It seems very likely that some glosses are drawn from glossaries and that some glossaries maybe based on glosses. They inform each other, and it is the fact of their interaction that is important, not the particular direction it happens to take in any given instance. If we take the notions of use and function seriously and examine glosses in terms of strategy, we can integrate them into a broader picture of medieval reading that embraces glosses and commentaries, glossaries and grammars. They are all instruments in the same enterprise, and it is that enterprise which gives them their value and their meaning.

From words to the phrase: the problem of syntax

In supra dictis igitur de singulis vocibus dictionum ... tractavimus: nunc autem dicemus de ordinatione earum quae solet fieri ad constructionem orationis perfectae, quam admodum necessariam ad auctorum expositionem diligentissime debemus inquirere.

Therefore, in the above sections, we have treated of the single *voces* of individual words; now indeed, we shall speak of their ordering, which is customarily undertaken for the construction of the perfect *oratio*, about which we must precisely and diligently inquire for the necessary exposition of the authors. Priscian, *IG*, xvii, 2¹

In this statement, which opens the seventeenth book of the *Institutiones grammaticae*, Priscian raises many of the issues that were to trouble medieval grammarians in their attempts to formulate coherent approaches to Latin syntax. He articulates the move from the study of words (the *partes orationis*) to the study of the phrase (*oratio*), but it is clear that his notion of syntax is itself utterly word-based: it is the *ordinatio* ('ordering') of individual words.² He also speaks of the *oratio* without specifying exactly what he means by the term, yet says it can be 'perfect', and that the study of the perfect *oratio* is a necessary prerequisite to the study of the *auctores*, supposedly themselves the models of good style. What is the relationship between grammatical correctness and literary *auctoritas* here? Is Priscian proposing a conceptual 'perfect' *oratio* against which the authors should be judged, or is he suggesting we turn to the authors for examples of it?³

These questions – what is the object of the study of syntax? what is its relationship to the study of authoritative texts? – continue to vex medieval grammarians.⁴ This is to a certain extent inevitable, and determined by the fact that the text known as the *Priscianus minor*

(books 17 and 18 of the *Institutiones grammaticae*) was the only authoritative text on syntax from Antiquity to survive in the West.⁵ Moreover, from the late eleventh century, there seems to have been an increased interest in syntax whose beginnings are as yet very poorly understood, but which is reflected in book production: the *Priscianus minor* began to be copied and commented on separately from the other books of the *Institutiones*.⁶ It is significant for example that William of Conches wrote two commentaries on Priscian, one in the 1120s which deals only with books 1 to 16, while a later redaction, probably from the 1140s, extends his commentary into the books on syntax. For *grammatici* of the first half of the twelfth century, the *Priscianus minor* was the inescapable starting-point for this subject. Only in the second half of the twelfth century do works on syntax begin to take the form of autonomous treatises rather than commentaries, but even here, Priscian remains the dominant influence.⁷

What does syntax actually study? Or, to put it another way, what is the *oratio*? Priscian's definition occurs in the second book of the *Institutiones grammaticae*, and once again is notable for the number of questions it begs rather than answers: *Oratio est ordinatio dictionum congrua, sententiam perfectam demonstrans* ('the phrase is the correct ordering of words, manifesting a complete thought').⁸ Although medieval versions of this statement shift emphasis and alter wording and word order, there is a remarkable consistency throughout the grammatical tradition with regard to the essential and defining characteristics of the *oratio*.⁹ The *oratio* joins several words together (plural: *dictionum*), that is to say, its basic material is individual words in combination. The order or disposition of these words is of some importance and is imbricated with notions of grammatical correctness (*ordinatio congrua*). (This notion of 'correct order' proves particularly problematic for the glossators of classical verse texts.) In addition, the *oratio* should express a meaning (*sententia*) which is in some way complete or self-sufficient (*perfecta*). While the vagueness of this definition was to prove immensely fruitful for the many medieval commentators who took it as their starting-point, it does prevent us from asserting an easy equivalence between *oratio* and sentence, for *oratio* seems to have operated widely enough to include the notion of both sentence and clause.¹⁰ In any case, Priscian's definition set the agenda for medieval grammarians who were in the main concerned with finding in the phrase *ordinatio* and grammatical and semantic correctness.¹¹

The problems with this approach are perhaps most clearly seen in an analogy drawn by Priscian and adopted by the grammatical tradition, which considers the relation of the word to the *oratio* to be of the same kind and quality as the relation of the letter to the syllable and the syllable to the word: *Sicut enim littera se habet ad sillabam, ita se habet dictio ad orationem* ('for the word is related to the phrase in the same way as the letter is related to the syllable').¹² This very widespread notion fails to acknowledge the different kinds of combination at work and pays no attention to issues of semantics or the hierarchy of relationships at work in any syntactical combination. Twelfth-century grammarians grew increasingly dissatisfied with this formulation and devoted ever more time to developing a series of concepts – government, restriction, determination – which account better for the complex forms of linguistic interaction that constitute the Latin phrase.

This is not achieved without controversy. The hold of the word itself in medieval linguistic thought is so strong that some grammarians deny that the *oratio* is a part of grammar at all. While most texts insisted that the *oratio* formed the fourth part of grammar after the letter, syllable and word, a dissenting tradition claimed that if constructibility is truly a property of the *dictio*, the study of syntax need not necessarily entail the study of the *oratio* as such.¹³ This doctrine is found in several commentaries on Priscian, but most notably in the *Glose* of William of Conches, which is also typical in the way it relocates the study of the *oratio* elsewhere in the trivium:

Materia huius artis sunt ista tria: littera, sillaba, dictio. Addunt quidam quartam orationem, affirmantes Priscianum de illa agere in libro constructionum. Quod a nobis hac ratione non videtur. Ubi ostendit quid sit littera et que eius accidencia et que cui preponuntur ad constituendam sillabam, tractatus est de littera, non de sillaba. Iterum, ubi ostendit que sit sillaba et que eius accidencia et que cui possit preponi ad constructionem dictionis, tractatus est de sillaba, non de dictione. Similiter, ubi ostendit quid sit dictio, que eius accidencia et que cui preponatur ad constructionem orationis, tractatus de dictione, non de oratione, debet vocari. Iterum, si de oratione ageret, illam, ut cetera de quibus agit, diffiniret et in species suas divideret et que dubia essent circa illam probaret. Sed, etsi diffinit eam propter evidenciam dictionis in cuius diffinitione fecerat mentionem de oratione, nunquam tamen illam dividit, neque que sunt dubia circa illam probat. Iterum, gramatici est discipulum

From words to the phrase: the problem of syntax

usque ad constitutionem orationis ducere; dialectici vero est orationem diffinire et dividere. Sunt igitur materia huius artis ista tria: littera, sillaba, dictio.¹⁴

[The subject-matter of this art is threefold, the letter, the syllable and the word. Some add a fourth part, the phrase, arguing that Priscian examined it in his book on syntax. But we do not agree, for this reason. Where he shows what the letter is, and what its accidents are and what should be added to what to make a syllable, the subject [under discussion] is the letter, not the syllable. Again, where he shows what the syllable is and what its accidents are and what can be added to what for the construction of a word, the subject is the syllable and not the word. Similarly, where he shows what the word is, what its accidents are and what may be added to what to make the phrase, it must be called an examination of the word and not the phrase. What is more, if he were examining the phrase, he would define it and divide it into its species and investigate the questions which arise from it, as he does for other things he examines. But, even though he defines it according to the evidence of the word, in whose definition he had mentioned the phrase, he still never divides it nor does he investigate the questions arising from it. Again, it is for the grammarian to lead the pupil constantly up to the composing of the phrase, but truly it is for the logician to define and divide the phrase. Therefore, the subject-matter of this art is these three: the letter, the syllable and the word.]

William, of course, has a point. The study of syntax envisaged by Priscian is ultimately word-based, and it has been argued that the dominance of the *partes orationis* militates against the development of the study of the *oratio* itself. He was however fighting a losing battle, as the *oratio* became one of the central concerns and most innovative fields of later medieval grammar.¹⁵ But his sense of liminal areas between grammar and other disciplines is crucial, and in another slightly later Priscian commentary, the *Omnis traditio*, the author recognises the claims to the *oratio* not only of logic but of rhetoric: *cum non sit gramaticorum de oratione agere sed tamen de constructione eius docere et eam construendam ut de ea tractaret logicis et rethoribus preparare* ('since it is not the job of grammarians to examine the phrase but rather to teach how to construe it and to prepare what is to be construed so that it might be treated by the logicians and the rhetoricians').¹⁶ Once again, the boundary between grammar and rhetoric is contested.

This brings us to the second question – what of syntax and the *auctores*? Priscian does not prescribe how the two spheres should interact, but his practice in the *Institutiones* of using authoritative texts as examples of grammatical points offered a model that was followed throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁷ As we saw in chapter 2, literary examples, along with examples from the Bible and examples invented by grammarians, formed the staple of grammatical and syntactic investigations. Most commonly, a literary example is used as an illustration of a grammatical doctrine in practice. For instance, Peter Helias demonstrates a statement about interrogatives with an excerpt from Juvenal:

Ad quod notandum est quod multe sunt cause interrogationum.
Quandoque enim est expressio laudis, ut que est ista? et cetera;
quandoque vituperii, ut

Tune duos una, sevissima vipera, cena?
Tune duos?¹⁸

[In this regard, it should be noted that the causes of the interrogative are many. For sometimes it is the expression of praise, like ‘what is this?’ and so on, sometimes of blame, like: ‘What, you most savage of vipers? You [killed] two, did you, *two*, at a single meal?’]

Equally, it can be used to show an exception to the rule in question. Juvenal is used by Petrus Hispanus to show that it is possible on metrical grounds to move away from standard prosodic measure: *dativus et ablativus desinunt in -o productam secunde declinationis. In his autem inveni correpta, ut ‘plurimus eger (hic) moritur vigilando, sed illum’ etc. Excusabile est quoniam secundum quorundam opinionem factum est. Regulariter tamen produci debet* (‘the dative and ablative of the second declension end in a long o. Among these forms I have found them shortened, as in ... *vigilando* ... This is excusable since it is done according to the opinion of some. Nevertheless, it should normally be long’).¹⁹ Sometimes an example is used as a statement of what should not be done: *Nec enim latine diceretur ‘animalia que est Socrates’, quemadmodum Aristotili licuit dicere ‘entimemata quod vere est syllogismus’* (Nor moreover should it be said in Latin, ‘the animals which is Socrates’, in the same way that Aristotle was permitted to say, ‘the enthymemes which is really a syllogism’), where the shift from plural verb to singular predicate is criticised.²⁰ In the same way, a judiciously chosen quotation helped

Robert Blund, writing in the third quarter of the century, to attack an opponent's opinion: *Propter hoc ergo dicent aliquam personam non posse agere de se per suum proprium nomen, quibus auctorum multiplex obviat autoritas. Ait enim Horatius de se loquens, nisi dextro tempore Flacci / verba per attentam non ibunt Cesaris aurem* ('On account of this, some will say that a person cannot treat of himself with his own proper name, but they are overturned by the authority of many authors. For Horace says, speaking of himself, "Only at an auspicious moment will the words of a Flaccus enter through Caesar's attentive ear"').²¹ I have examined elsewhere how Robert of Paris went to some lengths to explain and paraphrase the comparative construction *Clitemnestra, fortissima Tyndaridum* ('Clytemnestra, strongest of the Tyndarid women') which he took from Horace's *Satires*, and how several glossators of Horace demonstrate the same concerns at this point in the text.²² Here, literary quotation is employed to demonstrate how an author had made use of a particularly difficult construction and had thereby guaranteed its validity for later users. In the same way, excerpts could be used to exhibit characteristics of the literary text, for example its ornate language, or to illustrate a very rare usage.²³

In the work of Ralph of Beauvais and his school, this use of classical and biblical extracts forms the very basis of grammatical and syntactical analysis.²⁴ They are part of the fabric of the text, woven in by a range of phrases which demonstrate their varied function. In the *Liber Tytan* for example, *ut apud* ('as in') heralds an unproblematic illustration, while *item* ('again') or *similiter* ('similarly') is used if further examples are accumulated. Difficult points of syntax are followed by citations introduced by *unde* ('whence'), and often examples are put to a double use, embodying the principle already stated and suggesting the next line of enquiry, which is begun with a phrase such as *ex huius autem exemplo . . . manifestum est quod* ('from the example of this, it is clear that'). Ralph's analysis is a grammatical *expositio* or *enarratio* of the classical or biblical passages he cites.²⁵

Expositio – reading – takes us into the other arena in which literary and grammatical discourses intersect, that is to say, the comments of glossators on the syntax of authoritative texts. In the same way that they used the text to generate Latin vocabulary through the procedures of *derivatio* and *ethimologia*, the glossators exploit it to make general points about Latin constructions. And, just as we saw in the previous chapter, the expository traditions of grammarian and glos-

sator converge. There are striking instances of this in MS P, where the late twelfth-century glossator examines the *Satires*, remarks on the use of certain cases in certain constructions, and proposes general grammatical principles on the basis of what he finds. At some points, he is evidently indebted to the *Verba preceptiva*, an elementary treatise on syntax associated with Ralph of Beauvais.²⁶ The first instance occurs in a gloss on *Satires*, I, I, 66, where Horace's miser laments, *populus me sibilat* ('the people hiss at me').²⁷ This construction is problematic in that *sibilo* was more commonly used as a neutral or intransitive verb, while here it is construed with a direct object. The glossator intervenes: *Quando in neutro [verbo] intelligitur [verbum activum], tunc transitive construi potest. Ut 'ardebat Alexin'* ('when an active verb is understood in a neutral verb, then the neutral verb may be construed transitively [ie. with a direct object], as in "he burned with love for Alexis"'). Priscian had also used this quotation from Virgil's *Bucolics* in his discussion of the syntax of verbs (significantly the discussion occurs in book 8, on the verb as a *pars orationis*).²⁸ Here however the analysis is framed in terms of the syntactic theory of the second half of the twelfth century. Compare the *Verba preceptiva*: *Frequenter quando in verbo neutro intelligitur verbum activum, ipsum verbum neutrum signat constructionem activi verbi quod in eo intelligitur, ut apud Virgilium, Choridon ardebat Alexin, idest ardentem amabat* ('Often, when an active verb is understood in a neutral verb, the neutral verb points to the construction of the active verb which is understood in it, as when Virgil says, *Choridon burned (for) Alexis*, that is loved him ardently').²⁹ Here, glossator and grammarian both use a literary text (as occasion and/or as example) to address one of the fundamental issues in linguistic thought at this period: how do we judge the correctness of a construction?

Moreover, just six lines later at *Satires*, I, I, 73 (fol. 112^r), the P glossator touches on another crucial issue in twelfth-century syntax – word order, intimately connected with Priscian's *ordinatio congrua*. With typical authorial licence, Horace put a relative pronoun before its antecedent noun: *quem praebeat usum?* ('what use does it provide?').³⁰ The glossator comments: *Quando relativum preponitur suo antecedenti, antecedens ponendum est in casu quo erat relativum. Et relativum, in quo erit? antecedentis casu poni debet ut sit expedior constructio* ('When a relative is put before its antecedent, the antecedent should be put in the case that the relative was in. And the relative, what case will it be in? It must be put in the case of the

antecedent, so that the construction will be more solid'). There is a remarkably similar comment in the *Verba preceptiva: Quociens relativum ponitur in constructione ante suum antecedens ... licet antecedens poni in tali casu in quali positum est suum relativum* ('Whenever a relative is put in a construction before its antecedent ... it is permissible that the antecedent is put in that case in which its relative has been put').³¹ In other words, glossator and grammarian implicitly measure Horace's construction (which in this manuscript is not punctuated as a question) against a notional ideal word order (where antecedents always come first) and use that to decide on the correct grammatical forms. As in the work of definition, the glosses form part of a larger grammatical enterprise.

Verbal syntactic glosses are also used on a rather smaller scale to deal with elliptical structures, to mark the intervention of the direct voice into the narrative, or to remark on figurative constructions.³² However, the vast majority of syntax glosses are non-verbal, and it is with these that I shall be principally concerned in the following chapters. In formal terms, they can be divided into two basic categories.³³ The first employs letters of the alphabet, the second various combinations of dots and strokes or other non-alphabetical forms; both are interlinear, and are used to indicate a revised word order (sequential glosses) or to point out grammatical relations in the text (linking glosses).³⁴ A wide variety of texts, prose and verse, were glossed in these ways, including biblical texts such as the Psalter, the Christian poetry of Juvenius and Aldhelm, pagan authors like Terence and Macrobius, and school-texts like Priscian's *Institutiones*.³⁵ In general terms, texts in verse were more likely to be endowed with alphabetical glosses because of their suitability for unravelling very complicated word order, a feature of Latin texts in verse. The dot-stroke method is more likely to be used for the identifying of grammatical relations in the *oratio*, whether the text is in verse or prose. These glosses are usually dyadic (they work in pairs) and take the form of identical symbols which are placed above the two (and sometimes more) words whose interdependence they seek to demonstrate.³⁶

The origin of these systems is far from clear, but the glosses are found in manuscripts which can be traced to both Insular and Continental scriptoria from the ninth century onwards and they seem to represent a continuation of the practices of the Late Antique scholiasts, whose paraphrasing of the text was often introduced by the

phrase, *Ordo est* ('the order is').³⁷ But the presence of the glosses in eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts raises some daunting questions. Are they merely the result of slavish copying by scribes of everything they found in their exemplars?³⁸ To an extent, this is the same question that we faced with regard to the relationship of lexical glosses and glossaries, and I propose to adopt the same position here. In the following chapters, I demonstrate the absolute interdependence of non-verbal syntactical glosses and medieval *grammatica*, which share the same basic concerns of order and government in syntax. They are differentiated only by educational level. As long as educational practice insisted on using the complex texts of the *auctores* as the basis for learning elementary grammar, the glosses were useful and formed part of a long tradition of pedagogic reinvention and adaptation.

For Priscian, the study of syntax was a preparatory endeavour which fitted the student for the reading of the authors. But, as I shall argue in the next two chapters, twelfth-century *grammatici* use the literary text as a practice arena before moving on to more theoretical issues in syntax. However, the general concerns of glossators and grammarians – word order and the relation between parts of speech – are once again shared. Together they provide us with a fuller picture of *grammatica* in the period before the use of examples from the *auctores* (actual usage, of a sort) was rejected altogether. And because they are concerned with correct Latin, they point very directly to the need for negotiation between textual authority and educational requirements.³⁹

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MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 3259 (v) seems to have been designed with authority (*auctoritas*) in mind. It is a handsome northern French mid twelfth-century manuscript of the complete works of Horace and the *Satires* of Persius, which in the sixteenth century formed part of the impressive personal library of the Roman antiquarian Fulvio Orsini.¹ It is a much higher-grade product than the other manuscripts I discuss in this book; the main text is written in a good book hand (hand 1) which also writes marginal glosses which are ruled for – they are part of the book's original intention. There are two further layers of marginal glossing, not ruled for, and squeezed in and around the original marginal commentary. The second is in an Italian hand of the fourteenth century, and falls outside the scope of this study, but the first is in a later twelfth-century glossing hand (hand 2) and consists of a series of very heavily abbreviated glosses, including extracts from the text which are underlined. These features suggest that hand 2 copied the glosses from continuous or *catena* commentary on Horace in order to adapt v for pedagogic use. This suggestion is strengthened by the many linking syntactic glosses in hand 2, glosses whose abundance and consistency represent a sustained analysis which used the authoritative text as the basis for an examination of Latin syntax.

If we break down these glosses according to grammatical function, a clearer picture of the glossator's concerns begins to emerge and we can start to make connections with grammatical treatises on syntax. Out of a sample of 136 glosses, 55 (that is to say, over a third) delineate a relationship of grammatical agreement.² Of these, 28 focus on the agreement of substantive and adjective nouns, and over half (15) of these congruous pairs are in oblique cases.³ For example (S 1, 1, 78–9, p. 168, v fol. 75^r):

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... horum

semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.⁴

(‘I would always chose to be the poorest of those good ones’)

Here the substantive and demonstrative adjective (in the genitive plural) are shown to be syntactically linked through the addition of identical superscript glosses. The elementary c glossator, familiar from the chapters on reading word by word, uses a similar system of superscript dots and strokes to establish the same kinds of link (S, II, 2, 9–12, p. 211, C fol. 49^r):

Leporem sectatus equove

lassus ab indomito vel, si Romana fatigat
militia assuetum graecari, seu pila velox

//

//

molliter austerum studio fallente laborem

[‘After hunting the hare or wearily dismounting from an **unbroken horse**, or else, if Roman army-exercises are fatiguing to one used to Greek ways, it may be the swift ball takes your fancy, where the excitement pleasantly beguiles the **hard toil**, trans. p. 137]

What kinds of syntactic relationship are involved here? There are (at least) two possibilities, though we also need to take into account a relationship that the glosses seem to ignore. First, it is clear that the glosses signal agreement between the two terms. Secondly, it is possible that as a subsidiary to the notion of agreement, the glosses signals that an adjective makes the signification of the noun to which it is applied more precise. Thirdly, we might have expected some information as to *why* the substantive-adjective pairs are in their particular oblique cases – as the genitive plurals in a superlative clause both governed by *pauperrimus*, or governed by a preposition (*ab*, ‘from’) or a verbal form (*fallente*, ‘beguiling’). This could easily have been achieved through the addition of a third gloss over the governing term, but this occurs in only one of the examples analysed.⁵

These three relationships – agreement, semantic specification and government – correspond to the three fundamental concepts in medieval theories of syntax – *congruitas*, *determinatio* and *regimen*

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respectively.⁶ All three are complex and hard to pin down, principally because they formed the focus of attention for successive generations of twelfth-century *grammatici* who were constantly concerned to refine and improve upon preceding definitions. Agreement is a subsidiary part of congruity (*congruitas*), and only where congruity itself is considered to be a purely morphological state of affairs is it granted much importance. Master Guido, writing in the first decades of the century, defines *congruitas* as follows: *Per congruum notatur quod rectus casus cum casu, tempus cum tempore, persona cum persona iungatur, et ita in ceteris* ('By congruous we mean that the right case is joined to the right case, the right tense with the right tense, the right person with the right person and so forth').⁷ Much later in the century, the gloss *Promisimus* also adopts this superficial approach to congruity, reducing it to the agreement of endings and, in a tactic familiar from discussions of the *oratio*, assigning any further considerations to logic. The discussion of the example *Socrates est fortissimus istorum quibus ipse est fortior* ('Socrates is the strongest of them than whom he is stronger'), states this very clearly:

Congrua est gramatica, sed falsa locutio. Congrua est quia superlativum genitivo plurali construitur, et comparativum ablativo. Falsa est quia eadem res vere non potest ostendi esse de numero aliquorum et eis esse diversa: quod fit illa locutione ... Gramaticus non debet attendere nisi congruam dictionum iuncturam, et si sit in accidentibus quibus oportet, debet iudicare congruam.

[Grammatically this is congruous, but the phrase itself is false. It is congruous because the superlative is construed with the genitive plural and the comparative with the ablative. It is false because the same thing cannot truly be shown to be both one of their number and to be different from them, which is what happens in this phrase ... The grammarian need only pay attention to the correct joining of the words and if there is everything in the accidents which is necessary, he must deem it congruous.]⁸

Other more theoretical grammarians such as Peter Helias and Peter Hispanus took agreement for granted, but extended the concept of *congruitas* to include the semantic elements which the *Promisimus* commentator left to the logicians. They insist on a congruity both grammatical (*voce*) and semantic (*sensu*).⁹

The next relationship – *determinatio* – moves still further towards semantics. In fact, its history lies in its progressive disentanglement

from the third term *regimen*, which in turn corresponds to the gradual separation of logical and grammatical concerns in the first half of the century.¹⁰ *Determinatio* concerns the relationship between two terms, one of which renders the meaning of the other more specific.¹¹ Early twelfth-century 'logical' grammarians such as Master Guido and Abelard made *regimen* and *determinatio* completely interdependent, but William of Conches firmly separated the two notions, and in this as in many things his opinion was adopted and re-emphasised by Peter Helias.¹² This meant that *determinatio* was largely neglected by grammarians in the second half of the century, and became a rather flabby notion which had no real taxonomic value.¹³ It is displaced by *regimen* (government), which takes on its own identity by shedding semantic concerns and operating in purely morphological terms. It is the conferring of a certain case on the governed word (*rectum*) by the governing word (*regens*). This rather more pragmatic notion has obvious appeal for pedagogic grammarians who are concerned to teach the Latin language itself, and it comes as no surprise to find Ralph of Beauvais formulating it with characteristic brevity in his commentary on Donatus: *confert ei poni in tali casu* ('it confers on it to be put in such and such a case').¹⁴ As the nominative was not considered to be an inflected form (it is the form of the *prima impositio* from which all other forms descend), *regimen* can only be used of oblique cases. William of Conches clearly stated that *solis obliquis convenit regi* ('it is fitting that only the oblique cases are governed'),¹⁵ while the didactic grammarians Hugh of Saint-Victor, the author of the *Verba preceptiva* and Alexander of Villa Dei included in their treatises long lists of which verbs and nouns governed which oblique cases.¹⁶ These lists, which are designed to be memorised, represent an attempt to make *regimen* more than a theoretical notion and to transform it into a way of learning how to make sense of a Latin sentence. They are essentially formal in approach and envisage syntax as a series of relationships between individual words which can be discovered by examining their inflections.¹⁷ For example, in the section on the dative in the *Doctrinale*, Alexander of Villa Dei writes:

in bilis aut in dus verbalia iungis eisdem
sic 'nobis Christus et amabilis est et amandus'

[you join verbal nouns which end in *-bilis* or *-dus* to the same [dative cases];/thus 'Christ is able to be loved and is to be loved by us']¹⁸

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The displacement of *determinatio* by *regimen* effectively means that agreement forms only a tiny part of the grammarians' concerns, whereas it was one of the most common relationships delineated by the syntactic glosses. For example, if we return to our substantive-adjective pairs in oblique cases, it is obvious that *regimen*, the overriding concern of the grammarians, is ignored in favour of agreement; the glossators are more interested in the relationship of the items in the pair to each other than in finding out what governs the pair as a whole. The disparity in the two forms of syntactic analysis is highly significant, but I want to leave it aside for the moment, and look at some glosses from c and v which do seem to run parallel to the lists provided by the didactic grammarians such as Ralph of Beauvais and Alexander of Villa Dei. To take government by nouns first: of the thirteen instances in the sample from v, five deal with comparative constructions. For example (S, I, I, 57, p. 167, trans. p. 9, v fol. 75^r):

... eo fit

..
Plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto ...

Grammarians considered that the comparative construction consisted of the government of the ablative case by the comparative adjective, in this case, the government of *iusto* by *plenior* ('more than the just amount').¹⁹ (It is important to note the other glosses on *si* ('if') and *copia* ('abundance') indicate the conjunction and the subject, elements essential to the establishment of a clausal structure. These items do not have a morphological link and cannot therefore be accounted for within the formal view of syntax adhered to by the grammarians; again a disparity emerges between the two strands of *grammatica* that I shall return to later in this chapter.) Comparison is dealt with by the c glossator in exactly the same way (S, I, IO, 46-7, p. 204, c fol. 48^r):

“
hoc erat experto frustra Varrone Atacino

“
atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem ...

These glosses are necessary because the order of the terms in the text (*Varrone melius*) is the reverse of what might be logically expected, and indeed the reverse of the construction as it is always presented in

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grammatical texts on this subject (*melius Varrone*, 'better than Varro').

The common concerns of glossator and didactic grammarian are again demonstrated in the glossed pair *auctor carminis* ('the author of poetry') (*S*, I, 10, 66, p. 205, v fol. 87^v):

... fuerit limator idem

quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor
quamque poetarum seniorum turba ...

This government of the genitive was unanimously attributed by the didactic grammarians to nouns with the ending *-tor* or *-trix* which are derived from transitive verbs (in this case *augeo* ('I augment')). Rules of thumb, like this one from the *Verba preceptiva*, are typical of the morphological view of *regimen*: *Verbalia quoque in -or vel in -rix desinencia que a verbis transitivis nascuntur, genetivo iunguntur, ut amo iusticiam et amator et amatrix iusticie* ('wherever verbal nouns which are derived from transitive verbs end in *-or* or *-rix*, they are joined to the genitive, as in "I love justice", and "lover [male and female] of justice"').²⁰ In some ways, the gloss seems rather redundant; the two terms appear together in the text and in the 'right' order. This suggests that the aim of the gloss is not so much to explain the text as to use it to introduce a standard type of *regimen* to the students.

Similarly, the text provided occasions for the glossator to make general points about the government of the genitive in possessive constructions. One particularly interesting example in v demonstrates this interest but also attests to an analysis that goes beyond the formal to the structural (*S*, II, 8, 73-4, p. 249, v fol. 102^r):

“ ... :: :: ... “
Sed convivoris uti ducis ingenium res
“ “ “
Adverse nudare solent ...²¹

There are three main concerns in this intensively glossed passage. The terms glossed by two dots create the first half of the sentence (conjunction, subject, main verb and dependent infinitive): *sed res adverse solent nudare* ('but adverse events are accustomed to reveal'). Those glossed by three dots form the object clause, in this case a noun (*ingenium*), and a dependent genitive (*convivoris*) – 'the genius of the host'. Finally the pair with four dots indicate the final phase,

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adding a comparison to the object clause: *uti ducis* ('like [the genius] of a general'). It is as if the glossator works to impose a clausal structure onto the text.

One final example reveals the fundamental model of syntax which underwrites all these glosses, a model structured around the notions of transitivity and intransitivity (S, II, 1, 40-3, p. 208, v fol. 88^v):

z ** z **

... et me veluti custodiet ensis

**

vagina tectus; quem cur destringere coner

tutus ab infestis latronibus? ...

= <> = <>

... ut pereat positum robigne telum...

Transitivity was considered to be a property of both verbs and nouns, and is the foundation of *regimen*.²² In this way, the constructions *video Platonem* ('I see Plato'), and *cappa Socratis* ('Socrates' hood') are analogous, for they have in common 'the diversity of persons' (*diversitas personarum*), a construction in which there is movement from one of those 'persons' (referents) to the other (whether it is from the 'I' implicit in *video* to *Plato*, or from *cappa* to *Socrates*), and the change of case (morphological *regimen*) which signals that movement. The ^z glosses delineate such a construction by pairing verb and direct object (*custodiet me*, 'shall protect me'); indicate a relationship of straightforward government (*transitio propria*) based on transitivity and marking the diversity of persons.²³ On the other hand, grammarians characterised intransitive constructions such as *Socrates currit* ('Socrates runs') as having 'identity of persons' (*identitas personarum*) which is signalled by the morphological agreement between two parts of speech such as subject and verb, or more straightforwardly, substantive and adjective.²⁴ In the example from v, the ** glosses address this issue, by linking the subject terms of the clause, substantive and adjective noun (*ensis tectus*, 'sheathed sword'), as well as the comparative conjunction with which they have a purely semantic connection (*veluti*, 'just as'). Similarly, *positum* and *telum* ('the discarded weapon'), are the co-referential adjective and substantive nouns that form the subject of the verb *pereat*. So, in a move that mirrors exactly the approach of many twelfth-century grammarians, including Hugh of Saint-Victor, William of Conches, Ralph of Beauvais and Alexander of Villa Dei, the v glossator splits the svo

constructions into two halves, and, like the *grammatici*, envisages syntax as the relationship of one single word to another single word.²⁵ This ‘dyadic’ view lead many grammarians to consider that the canonical subject-verb-object (svo) clause, such as *Socrates videt Platonem* (‘Socrates sees Plato’), really embraced two constructions, one on either side of the verb. The author of the *Verba preceptiva* summarises this position: *Verba transitiva geminam habent constructionem, intransitivam cum nominativo, transitivam vero cum oblico* (‘transitive verbs have a dual construction, an intransitive construction with the nominative and a transitive construction with the oblique’).²⁶

This unanimity does not extend to all the syntactic relationships covered by the glossators. For example, the relationship of the verb *pereat* ('let perish') with an instrumental ablative complement *robigine* ('with rust') cannot be squared with the works of the grammarians, and suggests that the glosses may embody a more flexible approach to syntax than the grammars, which are structured around the notion of *regimen*. Whereas the didactic grammars concentrate on strictly formal analysis and cannot admit the functional categories which are necessary for concepts such as 'complement' to operate, the glosses work to delineate clause groupings and seem to be founded in a distinctly more pragmatic attitude.²⁷ Moreover, glosses which point out government by verbs are not easy to associate with the grammarians' statements. Of the 10 in the sample, 7 pair verbs and their direct objects in the accusative case – the prototypical form of the grammarians' transitive construction: *video Platonem*. For example (S, I, 7, 4–5, p. 195, trans. p. 91, v fol. 84^v):

“

Persius hic permagna negotia dives **habebat**

Clazomenis, et iam lites cum Rege molestas ...

where the glossator uses the same sign to indicate both the relation of the transitive verb *habebat* ('had') to its object *and* the relationship of the substantive and adjective object pair *lites molestas* ('troublesome lawsuit') to each other. The gloss does not differentiate the different types of syntactic relation at work. The remaining three pairs are even less easy to square with the resolutely dyadic model of the grammars. One example links the verb *referat* to *viventi* ('it matters to the living man') and probably served to introduce the use of the dative case for the indirect object (S, I, I, 49–50, p. 167, v fol. 75^r). Constructions like

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these, which lack a direct transition from one term to another because of the interpolation of a preposition or the use of an oblique other than the accusative, proved rather problematic for the grammarians.²⁸

It is time to step back from the details and hazard an overview of the syntactic glosses in v and c. In the first place, and in direct contrast to the didactic grammarians, both glossators are more interested in morphological agreement than morphological government.²⁹ Moreover, both manuscripts contain a substantial number of syntactical glosses which cannot be classified within either category (in v, a total of 58 out of the sample of 136, in c, 11 out of 89).³⁰ In the v glosses that stand outside the categories of government and agreement, the supervening notion is that of clausal structure. There are 27 instances of glosses acting as what might be termed structural guides. Six of these aim to eradicate the difficulties caused by the insertion of direct speech in to the narrative. Eleven signal the elements of the main clause, and 10 mark the essential elements of the different clauses which can be elicited from the text.³¹ In c too, there are glosses chiefly concerned with the overcoming of ellipsis and the delineation of clause boundaries. These glosses abandon the grammarians' view of syntax as essentially a series of binary, formal relationships, and seem instead to rest on notions, however unformulated, of structure and to a lesser extent, function. This conclusion is supported by a survey of glosses in a third manuscript, the early twelfth-century copy of Horace now MS Périgueux, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1,³² and embodied in a final example, which shows the glosses concentrating on linking the elements that make up the main clause (S, II, 3, 268–70, p. 226, c fol. 53^r):

“
...haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
“
mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
“ “
reddere certa sibi...

In the text the initial conditional clause on which the sense of the passage depends is fragmented: the glosses serve to delineate subject (*quis*: 'who'), verb (*laboret*: 'may work'), dependent infinitive (*reddere*: 'to reduce') and direct object (*certa*: 'them').

How can we make sense of these disparities, which seem to betray fundamental differences between grammatical treatises and glossing?

To some extent, this difference is inevitable. While the writer of a treatise on syntax can propose rules and select examples to illustrate them, the glossator of a text is forced to deal with the constructions which occur in the text. In the case of a classical Latin text in verse, this means dealing with an immense variety of syntactic relations, and the glosses are forced into flexibility by the very material they annotate. This is why the forms and functions of the v and c glosses are also found in the many examples of syntactical glossing we have from as early as the ninth century. Long before concise syntactical principles were formulated by the twelfth-century grammarians, glossators of literature were busy relating subject and verb, adjective and substantive, verb and object and imposing clausal structures.³³ The implication is clear: although the twelfth-century glosses can be seen synchronically as part of a wider concern with syntax, they also demand to be seen diachronically in terms of a pedagogic tradition which used literary texts to learn Latin. It is this practice that generates the functional glossing that cannot be extrapolated from the formalistic doctrines of contemporary didactic grammarians.

To return to the synchronic dimension: where didactic grammar's concern is always to elaborate various modes of government (understood as a change of case), the overriding concern of the glossators lies rather in isolating parts of the text which agree, whether in case, number, person or gender. In fact, this discrepancy does not threaten the reintegration of glossing into the disciplinary context of *grammatica* for which I am arguing, but rather alerts us once again to the importance of different levels within the art itself. Although it is rare to find sustained and explicit discussion of this issue in contemporary texts (though I examine one notable example in the concluding chapter of this book), it is possible to elicit some information from scattered comments in more theoretical grammatical treatises, where the opinions of the *pueri*, our elementary students, are used as a way of highlighting the contrasting sophistication of the author's own views.

Significantly, many such moments centre around *regimen*. The gloss *Promisimus*, for example, returns us to the vexed question of substantive-adjective relations and comments on how the *pueri* cope with this problem: *illud adiectivum ... debet inniti suo substantivo in eodem casu, genere et numero secundum doctrinam puerorum, dicentium quod adiectivum habet cum suo substantivo commune idem genus, casum et numerum et ab eodem regi* ('the adjective ... must

depend on its substantive in the same case, gender and number, according to the doctrine of the *pueri*, who say that the adjective has in common with its substantive the same gender, case and number and is governed by the same [verb]'.³⁴ The use of the verb *innitor* (to depend on), which did not form part of the standard grammatical terminology of the period, leaves the inter-relation of substantive and adjective deliberately vague. Similarly, in the chapter on syntax in the *Grecismus*, Eberhard uses the neutral terms *sociari* and *iungi* (to be associated with, to be joined to), and so avoids the necessity of specifying the nature of the association – agreement, or government.³⁵ Peter Hispanus' formulation of the government of the genitive by the possessive shows the same kind of intellectual short-cut at work: *Quod etiam habemus in regulis puerorum, quoniam cuius res est, genitivus est* ('Indeed, we have this in the rules of the *pueri* – since it is whose thing, it is in the genitive').³⁶ Moreover, Peter Helias' discussion of an exactly parallel construction, *filius Herculis* ('the son of Hercules'), describes the approach of the *pueri*, while strongly evoking the pedagogical context in its question and answer form: *A quo regitur 'Herculis'? Ab hoc nominativo 'filius'. Quare? Solent dicere pueri quia propinquior est ei in constructione vel in sensu* ('What is *Herculis* governed by? By this nominative *filius*. Why? The *pueri* usually say that it is because it is closer to it in the construction or in meaning').³⁷

Peter Hispanus' discussion of the syntactic figure *conceptio* demonstrates not only that there were special versions of *regimen* for the *pueri*, but also that these became particularly important in the exposition of complex Latin texts. Using an example from Virgil that was canonical in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts on syntax, he writes:

Concipit autem et singularis pluralem et pluralis singularem, ut apud Virgilium 'hic illius arma, hic currus fuit' Nam hoc singulare 'currus' concipit hoc plurale 'arma', idest adiungit ipsum sibi sub verbo sui numeri. Nam a quo regitur arma? Ab hoc verbo 'fuit', licet pueris dicatur facilitatis causa quod subintelligitur fuerunt . . . Si ergo queris, ut construam 'hic illius arma, hic currus fuit' quia, ut puer queris, ut puero respondeo: 'hic fuerunt illius arma, hic fuit illius currus'. Sciendum tamen est propecto quod conglomerata illa duo sub hoc verbo 'fuit' comprehenduntur.

[Moreover, the singular can embrace the plural and the plural the

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singular, as we find in Virgil, 'here his weapons, here his chariot was'. For the plural *arma* is embraced by this singular *currus*, that is, it joins it to itself under the verb of its own number. Now, what is *arma* governed by? By this [singular] verb *fuit*, although the *pueri* are told for the sake of easiness that [the plural] *fuertunt* is understood [in it] ... Therefore, if you ask that I construe *hic illius arma hic currus fuit*, because you ask as a *puer*, I will respond as if to a *puer*: "here were his weapons, here was his chariot". Nevertheless, it should be known by the more advanced student that these two are conjoined and are both understood in the verb *fuit*.]³⁸

Taken together, these passages enable us to reconstruct something of the syntactic *doctrina puerorum*. It is clear that they were introduced to the concept of *regimen*, as the use of the term in didactic grammars like the *Doctrinale* confirms. Moreover, the most testing forum for them to use the notion was, precisely, the study of literary texts. But it is also clear that at this boyish level, in explicit contrast to the level of the more advanced students (*profecti*), the notion and operation of *regimen* is drastically simplified. While it is impossible to say whether it was used to embrace the immense variety of syntactical relationships identified by the glossators, it is clear that the theoretical grammarians' definitions of *regimen* were subject to modification at the level of the *pueri*, just as syntactical concerns were expanded by the glosses. Indeed, the range of constructions they delineated would have served as a better introduction to Latin syntax even than the *regimen*-centred treatises of the didactic grammarians. It seems, in short, that we need to distinguish three kinds of approach to syntax within the art of grammar at this period – the theoretical formulations of authors like Peter Helias and Peter Hispanus, the morphological rules of thumb expounded by didactic grammarians like the author of the *Verba preceptiva* and Alexander of Villa Dei, and, finally, the more flexible, pragmatic approach of the glosses which incorporates material from both the other strands, but which is generated ultimately by the traditional cultural practice of using complex classical texts to learn basic Latin syntax.

In general terms, this picture accords with the stages of Alexander Nequam's grammatical curriculum in the *Sacerdos ad altare*, where Classical literature is read immediately after the *Ars minor* of Donatus, but before the syntactical works of Priscian.³⁹ And it suggests that in the twelfth century, literary texts and their glosses may have had the same function as the thirteenth-century *Construc-*

*tion*es, which listed possible constructions around the most general of syntactic phrases – *construitur cum*. ('it is construed with') – and gave an example and rule of thumb for each.⁴⁰ At this early educational level, the uncovering of syntactic relationships in the literary text was informed by pedagogic tradition, by the very style of the particular text under scrutiny and by the attempts of contemporary grammarians to describe and theorise those relationships.

This still leaves us with one further question; why was there such a persistent need to gloss the classical text in this way? The answer becomes clear if we turn to a form of elementary instruction in Latin that was immensely popular in the fifteenth century, the *Vulgaria*, described by Meech as 'set[s] of parallel English and Latin sentences of a jocose nature'.⁴¹ Most of them deal with matters of great interest to the schoolboy – including being beaten for poor Latin – while others are more pious in nature. In some cases, the English translation of the Latin tag is intentionally bad, and it is here that the fundamental problem for students of Latin syntax begins to emerge. In one case, the phrase *Ego vidi te ebrius dum fuisti sobrius* produces the nonsense translation, 'I saw the drunkyn whil thu were sober'.⁴² The learner's mistake is to have taken *te* (accusative) and *ebrius* (nominative) together, whereas of course, *ebrius* really modifies *ego*. In other words, the translation fails because, in Meech's words again, it 'follow[s] the Latin word order too faithfully'.⁴³ While in Middle English, syntactic relations are expressed through word order – that which goes together grammatically stands together in the sentence – in Latin, syntactic relations are expressed by inflections. For the learner to construe the Latin text correctly, he or she must ignore the order of the words and pick out the grammatical relationships. In the example from the *Parve latinitates* for example, the learner needs to isolate which substantive goes with which adjective, in other words, to analyse the text in exactly the same way as the glossators.

Rival orders of syntax: vernacular, natural and artificial

The *Vulgaria* mistranslations clearly demonstrate the pitfalls that classical Latin word order presented for students who adhered too rigidly to the syntactic patterns of their mother-tongue and who failed to take into account that in classical Latin, word order is principally to do with style rather than meaning. But, even though the freedom of its word order constituted one of the most difficult problems for medieval students of Latin,¹ and even though Old French was moving away from its two-case system towards a syntax where word order was more significant, there is more at stake here than a clash of Latin and vernacular paradigms.² Sequential syntactic glosses on classical texts, in certain respects the forerunners of the *Vulgaria*, impose onto the text orders that are not easily equated with particular vernacular languages. Indeed, in the same way that translation glosses do not really 'vernacularise' the text, but rather form part of a series of defining strategies developed within the art of *grammatica*, I shall argue that sequential glosses owe more to models of exposition sanctioned by *grammatica* than to any particular vernacular.³ There is then a further step to take, away from the vernacular and into the trivium. Given that syntactic glosses look at the phrase (*oratio*) rather than the word (*dictio*), the expository models in which they are founded impose a grammatically based structure onto a rhetorically motivated text. In this way, a necessary negotiation between the two arts, which is at root a tension between accepted notions of reading (the glosses) and writing (the text), begins to emerge.

This seems a large claim, and we need to substantiate it with a detailed look at some glosses. As with the linking glosses I discussed in the previous chapter, two types of construction prove crucial in unconverging their concerns: first, substantive and adjective combinations, and second, the nuclear sentence consisting of subject, verb and

object (svo). Two examples from MS T demonstrate a particular interest in the latter, particularly in the position of the verb.⁴ In the first (S, I, 4, 101-3, p. 184, fol. 68^r), the main verb *promitto* occurs at the very end of a three-line syntactic unit, while the dependent future infinitive *afore* ('to be absent') occurs in the first line. *Promitto* is glossed with a superscript *a*, *afore* with a superscript *b* to give the verbal phrase *promitto afore* ('I promise to be absent'), at the very head of the sentence.⁵ Soon afterwards, the T glossator tackles another difficulty in the text (S, I, 4, 123, p. 185, fol. 68^r):

b	d	c	a
Unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat			
('he would point to one out of the selected judges')			

Here, the verb is again removed from its end-position to head the sentence (in both this and the previous example, the subject is understood in the verb), but further rearrangements are also undertaken. The direct object *unum* comes next, followed by the modifying adjectival phrase, *selectis ex iudicibus*, where the adjective is made to precede the substantive.

These strategies may appear at first sight purely pragmatic, and on one level they are. But we need to bear in mind that they run completely counter to the periodic style of many works of classical literature, including those by Horace, whose aesthetic was primarily one of suspense. This suspense was created by separating syntactically related elements, most consistently by postponing the verb, that is to say by distancing it from its subject, object or dependent infinitives. This freedom was permitted by the highly developed flexional system of Latin.⁶ Quintilian's formulation of the strategy of postponement demonstrates very clearly the extent to which word order in Classical Latin formed part of rhetorical and aesthetic rather than grammatical and functional concerns: *Verbo sensum cludere multo, si compositio patiat, optimum est; in verbis enim sermonis vis est* ('if the artistic structure permits, it is much better to round off the thought with the verb, for the force of speech lies in verbs').⁷ In other words, the glosses we have examined undo what was originally considered most forceful about the text's rhetorical construction.

Nor are these glosses isolated. This tactic is common to other manuscripts of the *Satires* in which sequential syntactical glossing is found: the opening lines of the seventh satire are particularly suscep-

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tible, as the following passage from ms Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 537 illustrates (S, I, 7, 1-3, p. 195, fol. 66^r):

Proscripti regis Rupili pus atque venenum

hybrida ^gquo ^apacto sit Persius ultus, opinor

d e c f b
omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.

The elements of the main clause are brought together in the order subject-verb-predicate (*a-c*: 'I am sure it is well known') followed by further complements (*e-f*: 'by all bleary-eyed men and barbers'), and the relative clause, marked by the gloss *g* above *quo*, indicates that this clause was to follow immediately. Again the distancing of a verb, here from its dependent infinitive, is overturned.⁸

What of substantive-adjective relations? Two examples, from a late eleventh-century Horace from Eastern France, MS M, show very clearly that the predominant concern is to reunite and sometimes reorder these items, which, again, are often separated as part the text's rhetoric of suspense. Both examples are taken from the exposition of the first satire, but are characteristic of a mode of analysis which persists throughout the manuscript. Glosses on lines forty-one to forty-two run as follows (S, I, 1, 41-2, p. 166, fol. 121^r):

a b f c g
quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri

fur^dtim def^eossa **timidum deponere** terra?

['What is the use to you, if you, [being] timid, deposit an immense weight of silver and gold, furtively in a hole in the ground?']

Here, the glossator makes the accusative-infinitive construction more visible, by placing the main verb at the head of the sentence, followed by object with adjective (*te timidum*), infinitive (*deponere*) and its object, where the adjective precedes the substantive (*immensum pondus*). In the second example, we find the same strategy of bringing to the surface a construction that has been obscured by the periodic style (S, I, I, § 3, p. 167, fol. 121^r):

a c e b g d f
cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?

The glosses rewrite the sentence into the order *cur laudes tua granaria plus nostris cumeris?* ('why do you praise your granaries more than our bins?'), so that the terms of the comparison are clearer, the adjective stands next to the appropriate substantive, and the main verb is made to initiate the construction as a whole.

The position of the verb is crucial when we try to match up these pedagogical manoeuvres with contemporary reflections on syntax in the more familiar form of commentaries on the *Priscianus minor*. Now, it is clear that the glosses are founded in the notion of a *normal* word order to which the literary text should be referred and through which it may be clarified. Similarly, in their unravelling of literary examples, grammatical treatises too participate in this notion, without ever acknowledging the shared nature of their analysis.⁹ And, not surprisingly, it is to the grammatical tradition that we need to turn for some more theoretical statements on word order. The *locus classicus* for this discussion was Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, xvii, 105, where, fusing ontological and syntactic criteria, he established that the noun should by nature (*naturaliter*) precede the verb, as action, signified by the verb, is an accident of substance, signified by the noun:

Sciendum tamen, quod recta ordinatio exigit, ut pronomen vel nomen praeponatur verbo, ut 'ego et tu legimus, Virgilius et Cicero scripserunt', quippe cum substantia et persona ipsius agentis vel patientis, quae per pronomen vel nomen significatur, prior esse debet naturaliter quam ipse actus, qui accidens est substantiae. licet tamen et praepostere ea proferre auctorum usurpatione fretum.¹⁰

[nevertheless it should be understood that correct ordering requires that the pronoun or the noun be placed before the verb, as in *you and I, we read, Virgil and Cicero wrote*, since as the substance and person of that agent or patient which is signified through the pronoun or noun, must by nature be prior to that action which is the accident of that substance. Nevertheless, it is allowed that these [nouns and pronouns] be expressed irregularly by the authors' overturning of the rule [literally 'strait'.]

This passage contains a number of important paradoxes. It seems at some points that correct order (*recta ordinatio*) is purely metalinguistic and deals with the parts of speech as conceptual entities in an idealised hierarchy, but Priscian's use of possible and real sentences as illustrative examples suggests that his point is also a syntactic one.¹¹

More importantly for our purposes is the notion that, although there exists a 'correct' form, it is often overturned by the authors, supposedly the models of good usage! In other words, there is a hint here of that negotiation between the authoritative text and the demands of *grammatica* which forms the central subject of this book. Of course, this is why grammatical texts which prescribe an ideal word order are forced to use invented examples; it is clear from the glossed passages above that the texts of *auctores* like Horace do not use Priscian's *recta ordinatio*. For instance, in a text dated to the late eleventh century by Thurot but now reassigned to the ninth century in a very important study by Luhtala, the following word order is considered correct: *agens-actus-in quo fit paciens* ('agent-act-that which suffers the action').¹² It is illustrated by the svo phrase, *Johannes percussit Petrum* ('John hits Peter'), invented by the grammarian because a standard word order did not match anything in the traditional stock of classical and biblical examples, whose style was constituted precisely by deviations from this standard.¹³

William of Conches, once again a pivotal figure, elaborates on the division between the requirements of *grammatica* and the usage of the authors in the field of word order. It is highly significant that he casts it in terms of a division between the trivium arts of grammar and rhetoric and the passage is worth quoting at some length:

Omnes auctores vel metrice vel prosaice vel mixtim scribunt. Ut autem necesse est naturalis ordo dictionum, lege metri mutatur. Con naturalis ordo exigit nominativum preponi in orationem, verbum sequi, deinde obliquum casum, adverbium verbo aderere et similia; aliquando propter tempora et pedes metri ordo ille mutatur ut hic: 'Iram patet mihi.' Hic enim accusativus preponitur, verbum sequitur. Necesse est autem in expositionem ad suum naturalem ordinem dictiones reducere, quod sine sciencia construendi facile fieri non potest. Qui vero prosaice scribit, ordinem naturalem similiter mutatur, quippe sunt dictiones que post quasdam male, post alias bene sonant. Qui autem arte et non casu scribunt prius scienciam diligunt. Deinde quot modis illa sententia potest significari aspiciunt. Postea pulciora verba ad hoc faciendum ponunt, considerantes quo ordine illa verba prolata melius sonabunt. Quod qui scire desiderat, rethoricam marciiani ubi de elegancia orationis agit, legat. Ad horum verum expositionem sciencia construendi est necessaria ut dictiones ad suum naturalem ordinem reducantur. Ad omnium ergo auctorum expositionem sciencia construendi est necessaria.¹⁴

Rival orders of syntax

[All authors write in metre or in prose or in a mixture of the two. Even though the natural order of words is necessary, it can be changed by the law of metre. So, natural word order demands that the nominative is placed first in the phrase, that the verb follows, then the oblique case, that the adverb adheres to the verb and so on. But sometimes, this order can be changed by the time and feet of the metre, as here *Iram patet mihi* ['Anger he shows to me']. Here, the accusative is put first, with the verb following. Moreover, it is necessary in the exposition [of a text] to rework the words into their natural word order, which cannot be done easily without a knowledge of construing (*sciencia construendi*). But whoever composes in prose will similarly [to whoever writes in metre] divert from natural word order, since there are words which sound bad after certain other words and good after others. Thus, those who compose by design and not by chance, first work at this knowledge, whence they examine closely the number of ways in which a meaning (*sentencia*) can be expressed. Afterwards, they employ the words which are more beautiful to express it, taking into consideration the order in which the words sound best when uttered. Whoever wants to know more about this, let him read the *Rhetoric* of Marcius, where he deals with the elegance of the phrase. [On the other hand], the knowledge of construing is necessary for the correct exposition of them [the *auctores*], so that the words might be reworked into their natural word order. Therefore, the knowledge of construing is necessary for the exposition of all the authors.]

We need to note several things about this analysis. First, it is an exposition of Priscian's comment that the study of syntax is necessary *ad auctorum expositionem*, the comment with which we began to explore the issue of syntax in chapter 7. In other words, William chooses to formulate his opinions on word order as part of a discussion about the relationship of literary authority and grammar. Secondly, he develops Priscian's notion that the noun naturally (*naturaliter*) precedes the verb into a standard, natural word order – *ordo naturalis* – which is more obviously syntactic than Priscian's. This natural word order runs nominative, verb, obliques, in other words, *svo*. It is therefore considerably stricter than the word order of Old French, which allows for subject and object to be either side of the verb, which occupies a 'place médiane'.¹⁵ *Ordo naturalis* can be abandoned by writers of both verse and prose for reasons of sound; but this consideration lies outside the grammarian's ambit and is addressed by

writers on rhetoric. On the other hand, *ordo naturalis* is what exposition (as opposed to composition) *must* use; the order of *expositio* (a grammatical activity) is not the same as the order of the text under scrutiny (a rhetorical product). Finally, the naturalising of the text's word order in exposition is not done intuitively but consists of the application of a body of knowledge, the *scientia construendi*, to a text. This knowledge is, of course, grammatical.

A concern with *ordo naturalis* is not limited to William. It was prescribed by theoretical grammarians like Peter Helias and the anonymous author of a Porretan commentary on the *Priscianus minor*, and didactic grammarians like Hugh of Saint-Victor, Alexander of Villa Dei and Ralph of Beauvais either discuss it openly or use it as the basis of their syntactic descriptions.¹⁶ The noun-verb order continued to provide the basic model for the analyses both of the syntacticians of the second half of the twelfth century, and of the Modists in the thirteenth.¹⁷ In other words, *ordo naturalis*, characterised by its adherence to SVO order, was a grammatical construct or tool with which to unravel the rhetorical intricacies of Latin syntax; it was the order of paraphrase, of exposition, and a template used for rewriting examples in grammatical and logical treatises.¹⁸ Writers on rhetoric used the term too, pointing up the contrast between expository and rhetorical word orders by calling the first natural, the second artificial (*artificialis*). In this way, artificiality in word order becomes a defining characteristic of literariness itself, and any composition which employs natural word order has the status of a grammatical exercise. For example, Alberic of Monte Cassino talks of *recta ordinatio* for the *minus peritis* ('the less skilled'), and contrasts it with *appositio*, a style for the more accomplished (*perfectiores*), which is characterised by [*dictiones*] *a serie remota* ('words removed from their normal succession').¹⁹ Indeed, William's account too supposes a situation in which bare meaning comes first, and is then elaborated on until the required rhetorical or artificial level of style is reached. The distinction is made still more clearly by Konrad of Mure in the mid-thirteenth century who shows that artificial order and natural order were also operational at the level of narrative technique: *Naturalis hic est ordo quando nominativus precedit, et verbum cum suis determinationibus ... subsequitur. Et iste ordo rem prout gesta est ordine recto plano modo declarat et exponit. Artificialis ordo est, partibus materie artificialiter transpositis ... per verba polita decenter et ornata* ('this is the natural order, when the nominative precedes and the verb and its

determinants follow. And this order clarifies and explains the subject or events clearly in the right order. Artificial order is when the parts of the subject matter are artificially and decorously transposed through polished and elegant words').²⁰

I am suggesting then that *ordo naturalis* is the framework in which the sequential glosses operate, and that the SVO structures they impose are best accounted for by this traditional method of textual exposition. If further confirmation is needed, we can find it in the phrase *sciencia construendi*. What does 'construing' entail precisely? and what kind of 'knowledge' does it require? Hugh of St. Victor calls the first, most literal level of reading *constructio*, and Peter Hispanus talks of the *actus constrictis quem in lectione exercemus* ('the act of construing which we perform while reading').²¹ A comment on the first line of Priscian's *Institutiones* in the *Promisimus* confirms the connection of construing and classroom practice: *Notandum vero quod iste prior versus difficilis est construendum, quare videndum est que sit eius summa, ut facilius sit constructio* ('but it should be noted that this first line is difficult to construe, which is why its general meaning is to be understood first, so that the construing will be easier').²² It is Alexander of Villa Dei however who gives us more precise details, when he prefaces his prescription of *ordo naturalis* with the injunction *Construe sic* ('construe [the text] as follows'):

*Construe sic: casum, si sit, praeponere vocantem;
mox rectum pones; hinc personale locabis
verbum, quod primo statues, si cetera desint,
tertius hinc casus et quartus saepe sequuntur,
aut verbo subdes adverbia.*

[‘Construe as follows: if there is a vocative, put it first, then immediately following, the nominative (*rectum*). Next you should place the personal verb, which you should put first if the others are not present. Then the third case [accusative or direct object] and the fourth case [dative or indirect object] often follow, or you may put the adverbs immediately next to the verb’].²³

Construing consists, at least in part, of putting the text into an order that we recognise as *ordo naturalis*. Indeed, this is what lies behind Geoffrey of Vinsauf's rather cryptic formulation in the *Poetria nova* that gravity and nobility of style can be achieved by separating those parts that normal syntax would put together: *quae sociat constructio, separat ordo* ('that which construing brings together, [artificial] order

separates'), or put the other way round, construing puts back together those elements that are separated by the *ordo artificialis* of the text.²⁴ It would be hard to find a better description of glossing practice. Moreover, Alexander of Villa Dei makes it clear that this construing requires basic grammatical knowledge of precisely the kind I have discussed in the previous chapters, that is to say, knowledge about the *partes orationis* and their inflections. Knowing how to isolate these parts and reorder them is the *sciencia* that underwrites the expository practice of the glosses.

Sometimes, this exposition occurs in the form of paraphrase. For example, in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Eclogues* of Theodolus, where the first line, *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas* (literally, 'of the Ethiops the lands now the hot scorched the summer') is notable for the end-position of the nominative, the consequent inversion of subject and verb, the separation of substantive and adjective and the early position of the complements, we find the following gloss: *Construe: fervida estas torruit, idest cremavit, iam, idest illo tempore, terras ethiopum* ('construe: the hot summer parched, that is burned, now, that is, in that time, the lands of the Ethiops').²⁵ In MS T, marginal paraphrases are sometimes introduced by the phrase *Ordo talis est* ('the order is as follows'), and proceed to reunite substantives and adjectives, verbs and adverbs.²⁶

However, the most interesting testimony to the glosses' use of *ordo naturalis* occurs in a rather less obvious form. MS H is another workmanlike, late twelfth-century copy of Horace from Northern France with plentiful glosses.²⁷ At fourteen points in the exposition of the *Satires* the superscript graph *or* is found, followed a line or more later by the similarly superscript *do*. A gloss *ordo* is thus created, spanning up to four lines of verse. In six of these cases, the glossed passage is notable for the distancing of the main verb from its subject and object, or from a negative qualification. In other words, suspense – the most characteristic feature of the periodic style – once again proves problematic. The following example contains one of the most radical separations of subject (*ego*) and verb (*narro*: I narrate) confronted by the glosses (S, I, 6, 58–60, p. 192, H fol. 76^r):

or
non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
do
sed quod eram, narro

[‘I do not relate that I was born of a famous father, nor that I rode about my estate on a Tarentine steed, but I relate what I was’]

Here, a series of separate syntactic groups depend on the same verb *narro*, which is left unexpressed until the end of the period. The H glosses imply a relocation of this verb to relate it to the first expression of its subject: it will then be implicit through the whole passage. Again, the aesthetic of suspense is negated, the text is, as it were, made more grammatical and less rhetorical.²⁸ Two *ordo* glosses are applied to passages where the substantive and adjective are separated and where there may be consequent cause for confusion (S, I, 5, I-2, p. 186, H fol. 74^v):

or
Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
do
hospitio modico

Reordering is required here to ensure that *magna* (great) is made to qualify *Roma* and not *Aricia*.²⁹ Two glossed passages are notable in terms of their complicated structure and multiple complements, and another for the distancing of an infinitive from the verb on which it depends.³⁰ The remaining three passages contain the intervention of another voice in the narrative in the form of direct speech, quotation and reported speech.³¹ In other words, these glosses are applied to passages that present particular difficulties for learners of Latin. They are the written trace of an activity undertaken by the glossator during his exposition, who perhaps set these passages as challenging tests of the *sciencia construendi* of his pupils.³²

Is there any room for the vernacular in all this? While it seems clear that the notion of *ordo naturalis* is what motivates the sequential glosses, it is worth remarking that on the most abstract level, Old French shares one fundamental feature with this expository technique: contiguity. In natural and vernacular (as opposed to rhetorical) orders, the concern is to bring together those parts of speech which belong together syntactically. In other words, it seems possible that the pedagogical efficiency of *ordo naturalis* may reside in its closeness to emerging vernacular forms. The grammatical tradition is the foundation of the glossing, but it works with the grain of vernacular practice, much as we saw with the *hic*, *hec* and *hoc* glosses.

The dramatic recasting of the classical work in these glosses contrasts very sharply with the treatment of the word order in

another kind of text. In contemporary vernacular translations of the Psalms, the structures of Old French are completely abandoned in order to mirror absolutely the style of the Scriptures, to preserve in effect the dominance of the sacred Latin text.³³ Glossators of Horace do not attempt to preserve the periodic style of the *Satires*, but rather refashion it using grammatical knowledge and grammatical models. They perform a kind of translation, not from one language to another, but from one art (rhetoric) to another (grammar). It is true to say that sequential glosses do confer a special status on the classical text, for the fact that it requires 'naturalising' in a systematic way is a sign of its highly rhetorical nature, its literariness, even its authority. To that extent, the *ordo naturalis* glosses grow out of a sense of difference between the plain and correct (*recte*) nature of the language of commentary and exposition, and the ornate or crafted (*bene*) language of rhetorical composition. The classical text and the medieval gloss are perceived as different in kind, and this difference is at root a function of the division of the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric and what is considered proper to each. The one makes clear, the other adorns. But when *grammatica* does its work by glossing the *auctor's* text, and particularly when it starts to address stylistic issues of word order and figuration, this division is increasingly hard to sustain.

From the phrase to the text: grammatical and rhetorical approaches again

Schemata lexeos sunt et dianoeas, id est figurae verborum et sensuum. sed schemata dianoeas ad oratores pertinent, ad grammaticos lexeos.

There are *schemata lexeos* and *schemata dianoeas*, that is to say figures of speech and figures of thought. But the figures of thought belong to the rhetoricians, the figures of speech to the grammarians. Donatus, *Barbarismus*¹

If the text's periodic syntax was seen as something to be combated, even 'naturalised' by exposition, we might expect a similarly adversarial approach from glosses which treat other elements of the text's style. However, this is far from the case. When glossators come to look at figurative language, which is defined precisely by its departure from the norms of grammatical correctness, the text becomes a resource, an embodiment of the strategies of *elocutio* with which the student must be acquainted. This shift in attitude derives ultimately from *grammatica*'s traditional claim to the figures and tropes, the foundations of *elocutio*, a claim which in turn derives from the ancient practice of textual *enarratio* that I sketched in the second chapter of this book. But, as we saw there, the claims of rhetoric are also pressing, and it will be the principle aim of this chapter to show how the practice of glossing the figures and tropes in the classical text forces us to reassess where and how we place the boundary between grammar and rhetoric in the twelfth century, and even whether, in reading practice, the notion of a boundary is sustainable.² As a corollary to this, I want in the subsequent chapter to explore the theoretical framework which underpins this reading of the tropes, a theoretical framework founded in the hermeneutic category of authorial intention. This category is of immense importance; it allows glossators to transgress disciplinary boundaries and

forces us to redefine what we understand as 'literal' reading in the Middle Ages.

We need to start with the figures and tropes themselves. In the grammatical tradition, the *Barbarismus* (the third part of Donatus' *Ars maior*), formed the standard classification of figurative language. Donatus' scheme works around a polarity of linguistic vice and virtue; he lists the kinds of unacceptable grammatical error, then proposes counterparts which redeem those errors through the notion of poetic licence. Thus, a barbarism is defined as 'a part of speech which is defective in common speech. In poetry it is called a metaplasm' (*una pars orationis vitiosa in communi sermone. In poemate metaplasmus*).³ It occurs in four ways, when a letter or syllable is added, subtracted, substituted or transferred within a word. For example, the subtraction of a syllable gives *salmentum* for *salsamentum*, and the addition of a letter *relliquias* for *reliquias*. On the other hand, the metaplasm is also a variation on the normal form of individual parts of speech, but it is acceptable by virtue of its use in poetic contexts: *Metaplasmus est transformatio quaedam recti solutique sermonis in alteram speciem metri ornatusve causa* ('Metaplasm is the transformation of speech, whether strict or more free, into another species, for reasons of metre and elegance').⁴ Immediately, the word *ornatus* alerts us to a concern with style rather than correctness, and the move towards the territory of rhetoric.

As we might expect, Donatus' next pairing moves from the word to the phrase. The solecism occurs in the 'joining together of the parts of speech against the rule of grammar' (*contextu partium orationis contra regulam grammaticae*) and can occur either at the level of the part of speech, for example when an adverb is used in a construction instead of a noun, or at the level of the accidents of the *partes orationis*, where one gender or case is substituted for another.⁵ Their counterparts are the *schemata lexeos*, irregularities in construction of the parts of speech (syntax) which are permissible in poetry.⁶ Finally we have two categories which are not directly related: the miscellaneous *cetera vitia* ('certain vices') and the tropes. It is in this last category that the claims of rhetoric (which called them *exornationes verborum*) are most urgent.

There can be no greater testimony to the sense of Horace's text as 'poetry' and as 'authority' than the fact that not a single barbarism or solecism is isolated in the glosses.⁷ These terms simply do not apply to an *auctor*, whose moves away from grammatical rectitude at the

level of the word and the phrase are not mistakes but the very constituents of literariness. However, the glosses do mention two defects classified amongst the *cetera vitia*. The first of these is *eclipsis*, defined by Donatus as 'a certain omission of a necessary word which is required for a precise meaning, as in, "She to herself", when "was speaking" is missing' (*eclipsis est defectus quidam necessariae dictionis, quam desiderat praecisa sententia, ut 'haec secum'; deest enim 'loquebatur'*), which is closely followed by Isidore and by the *Doctrinale*.⁸ While both these texts use the same example as Donatus and classify *eclipsis* within the heterogenous group of the *cetera vitia*, the anonymous mid-thirteenth-century author of the *Admirantes* gloss on the *Doctrinale* comments that it is often found in the works of the authors (*legentes communiter in actoribus*) and classifies it as a figure (*figura*).⁹ The R glossator seems to be working in that spirit when he identifies an instance of *eclipsis* at *Satires*, II, 5, 102, where Tiresias, advising a resuscitated Ulysses in the matter of legacy hunting, suggests how he react when the death of a 'friend' finally secures his fortune. Ulysses is to cry: *Unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?* ('where to me one so reliable, so faithful?'). In the absence of a verb, the gloss says that the verb 'to have' is understood in the phrase (*habere subauditur*), but further adds: *eclipsis est pro dolore* ('the ellipsis is because of grief').¹⁰ In other words, the gloss transforms a grammatical defect into an intended stylistic trick.

There is a different, more monitory motivation behind the glossing of *amphibolia* (or *amphibologia*, 'ambiguity') in M. The interlinear gloss occurs at *Satires*, I, 7, 33-5 with reference to the following lines:

Persius exclamat 'per magnos Brute deos te
oro qui reges consueris tollere, cur non
hunc Regem iugulas?

[Persius exclaims, 'By the great gods, I implore you, O Brutus, since it is in your line to take off kings [*reges*], why not behead this Rex?'].¹¹

The ambiguity lies in the verb *tollere*, which means both to 'extol' and to 'do away with'. The gloss alerts the learner to this and uses the text as a means of illustrating a technical term. Donatus defined the vice as 'the ambiguity of a word, which comes about through the accusative case, or through a common verb, or through two similar words, or through homonyms' (*ambiguitas dictionis, quae fit aut per casum accusativum ... aut per commune verbum ... aut per distinctionem ...*

et per homonyma) and it is of course the final type that we have here¹² Again, he is followed closely by Isidore and Alexander of Villa Dei, but the other trivium arts of logic and rhetoric have their say on this subject too. While twelfth-century commentaries on Aristotle's *Sophistici elenchi* sought to describe the semantic structure of ambiguity, the rhetorical tradition took a more judgemental view.¹³ Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* lists it among the category of vices to be completely avoided in composition.¹⁴ This is why ellipsis and ambiguity are glossed, while the other *vitia* are not. While barbarisms and solecisms are rehabilitated through the notion of poetic licence and transformed into metaplasms and figures, the *cetera vitia* are not afforded such an opportunity. Donatus does not suggest that they are the inverse of the tropes (as the structure of the *Barbarismus*, and indeed, some modern commentators would seem to suggest), and Alexander of Villa Dei considers them to be inexcusable: *nulla ratione redempta*.¹⁵ The glossator must warn against them, even when they appear in the poetry of Horace, though, it should be noted, he jeopardises the text's authority in doing so.

But even metaplasms are rarely glossed. In R there are two examples, which pick out *apocope* and *paragoge*. The former is the removal, the latter the addition, of a letter or syllable from or to the end of a word.¹⁶ The R glossator finds an example of the first at *Satires*, I, 5, 79, where Horace uses an irregular form of the perfect of the verb *erepo* ('I creep out'): *erepsemus*.¹⁷ An interlinear gloss provides the more standard form of the pluperfect subjunctive: *scilicet (erep)sissemus* and a marginal comment states that *apocopa* does not usually occur in this tense except where an extra syllable *vi* is used to form the perfect: *numquam fit apocopa [sic] in preterito regulariter nisi quando hoc sillaba 'vi' assumitur extra* ('*apocopa* never comes about in the past on a regular basis unless when the syllable *vi* is taken on [as part of the perfect ending]'). The glossator then gives the example of a verb which would be 'damaged' by such drastic shortening, that is a verb in which the *vi* of the perfect is part of the root and not part of the inflection: *Unde 'morunt' non dicitur quia maius damp[n]um pateretur verbum* ('so, we do not say *morunt* [as opposed to *moverunt*] because the verb would appear too damaged').

These glosses provide a striking instance of a glossator's negotiation between the text and the educational requirements of his audience. The first element is descriptive and grammatical; it points out that this is not the usual form of this verb. Then prescription takes over and

the correct form is provided, presumably to be learnt by heart. Next, the teacher provides a rationale for Horace's 'defective' Latin and bestows the name of a metaplasm onto the irregular verb form, using the mechanism of poetic licence to safeguard the text's authority and guarantee its special status. On the other hand, the glossator does point out that certain verbs should never be subjected to such treatment. Interestingly, his example *morunt* probably derives from Priscian's *Institutiones*, where the late Antique grammarian points out that the *auctores* (the example he gives is from the *Aeneid*), are prone to removing the penultimate syllable of third person plural perfect verbs which have the syllable *vi* in the first person: thus *admooverunt* becomes *admorunt*.¹⁸ In other words, to be an *auctor* is to break the rules, but the rules must be learned by the *pueri* who read the *auctores* as a way of learning Latin. As Matthew of Vendôme puts it, these improper uses *attendende sunt, sed non extendende* ('are to be expected, but not perpetuated').¹⁹

While these glosses fall squarely within the domain of *grammatica*, the tropes make things rather more complicated. We saw in the second chapter of this book how grammatical and rhetorical traditions intersected and came into conflict in the teaching of the tropes, and how central this teaching was to developing notions of *elocutio*. The metaphor, whose definitions in Roman Antiquity and the medieval West are clearly divisible along disciplinary lines, exemplifies some of the issues at stake. Grammarians propose a narrow version, again based in Donatus: *Metaphora est rerum verborumque translatio. haec fit modis quatuor, ab animali ad animale, ab inanimati ad inanimale, ab animali ad inanimale, ab inanimati ad animale* ('metaphor is the carrying over of words and things. It comes about in four ways, from the animate to the animate, from the inanimate to the inanimate, from the animate to the inanimate and from the inanimate to the animate').²⁰ These limitations on the types of possible transfer are maintained by Bede, Isidore, and Matthew in his *Ars versificatoria*. The authors of the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus* simplify the exposition considerably, but preserve a view of metaphor that is essentially mechanistic and formal.²¹ However, in the rhetorical tradition, anchored by the *Ad Herennium*, the affective power of metaphor is the focus of attention. In this text, 'metaphor is when a word is transferred [from meaning] one thing to another thing, which will rightly be considered to be able to be transferred only by virtue of a similarity. This is done for the sake of placing the thing in front of

ones eyes' (*translatio est cum verbum in quandoque rem transferetur ex alia re, quod propter similitudinem recte videbitur posse transferri. Ea sumitur rei ante oculos ponendae causa*).²² Thierry of Chartres chose to stress the idea of the immediacy and power of metaphor in his gloss on this passage: *Nota, res ante oculos oratione ponitur, cum sic res verbis exprimitur, ut tamquam in praesentia geri videatur* ('Note that the subject matter is brought before the eyes in speaking, when is it expressed by words in such a way that it might be seen to come about as if in the present').²³ Metaphor has the same basic structure in both traditions, but its importance is now more teleological; it has an aim and a function.

The distinction between formal and functional conceptions of metaphor is crude but useful, and it offers us a way of testing glossing practice against the trivium arts of grammar and rhetoric. Two glossators are drawn to the famous passage in the fourth satire where Horace describes the invidious position of the satirist in Roman society, and, in a reference to the custom of tying hay to the horns of dangerous cattle as a warning, he recounts how citizens liken the satirist to these mad beasts: 'Run off! He carries hay on his horns!'²⁴ The glossator in F comments (fol. 46^v): *Metaphorice loquitur quia bobus qui feriebant cornibus ligabant aliquod signum* ('this is metaphorical because they used to tie a sign to the cattle who struck out with their horns'). The R glossator goes a stage further and explicitly articulates the two terms of the metaphor (fol. 66^r): *tractum est a quodam tauro domestico in cuius cornu ligatum fenum fuit, ut eo signo, fugerent hac die eum cornu petentem. Metaforice ergo dicitur de satirico* ('This is drawn from a certain domesticated bull on whose horn hay was tied so that by that signal, they would on that day flee from the one attacking with its horns. Therefore this refers metaphorically to the satiric poet').²⁵ In both cases, the glosses use the adverbial form *metaphorice*. This is important, for it suggests that metaphor is not merely a stylistic mechanism, but a way of writing, a practice with certain ends in view.

This becomes still clearer in another R gloss. A central concern of the *Satires* is the harsh judgement of men by their fellows, and in *Satires*, I, 3, 55–6, Horace uses the following metaphor to illustrate this vice:

*at nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque
sincerum cupimus vas incrustare*

Grammatical and rhetorical approaches: II

[‘but we turn virtues themselves upside down, and wish to cover with a coating an unblemished vessel’].²⁶

The gloss elaborates on the immorality of such an attitude, using the adverbial form *metaforice* in combination with *agere*, a term central to the rhetoric of polemic and pleading: *vasa rimosa incrustamus et aliquo fuccino linimus, non autem bona vasa. Metaforice de virtutibus agit, ostendit quomodo virtutes invertimus* (‘It is leaky vessels we cover up and smear with some orchil [purple dye], not sound vessels. Here he discusses virtue metaphorically, and demonstrates how we invert virtues’). Isidore used *agere* to distinguish the mere speaking of a client and the persuasive pleading of the advocate on his behalf: *Differentia est inter agere causam et dicere: quod agit patronus, dicit reus* (‘there is a difference between pleading the case and speaking: what the advocate pleads, the client speaks’).²⁷ In other words, the R gloss clearly associates metaphorical language with a rhetorical tradition; metaphor is a means of persuasion and the text employs figurative language to persuade readers of moral points. Here, the concerns of the grammarian (the trope itself) and the rhetorician (the affective power of the trope) merge, and are reinforced by an encouragement to virtue that draws on the perceived moral value of the *Satires*.²⁸

But the R glossator is also interested in describing tropes in more formal terms and in one instance uses the text to expound the central mechanism of metaphor itself. The passage in question concerns the farcical court-case of Rupilius and Persius and is structured around a series of bathetic, mock-heroic comparisons. The force of Persius’ invective is compared to the speed of white chargers: *adeo sermonis amari, / Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis* (‘of such bitter speech that he might outstrip a Sisenna [a notorious slanderer] or Barrus as if with the speed of white coursers’). The gloss comments: *cum bari naturaliter velociora sunt ceteris animalibus, apud Susseniam [sic] velocissima, et huiusmodi metafore solent transferri ad quoslibet quorum alter excedit alterum in eodem officio ... Hic transfertur ad litigiosos* (‘since elephants (*barri*), are by nature faster than the other animals, according to Sussenna the fastest, so metaphors of this kind are usually transferred to anybody of whom one greatly outdoes the other at the same activity ... Here it is transferred to those who fight law-suits’).²⁹ The emphasis on the structure of transfer suggests that the glossator uses this moment in the text as an occasion to explore

the nature of metaphor itself. To put it another way, the aim of isolating tropes was not only to make the text easier to understand but to instruct learners in the function, and sometimes the very nature of tropical language. Thus, the R glosses often 'invent' tropes out of the text. For example, in the last satire *rapula* (little turnips) is glossed *et ponitur pars pro toto, scilicet rapula ponitur pro iure* ('the part is used instead of the whole, that is "little turnips" is used instead of the broth').³⁰ The gloss invokes, without naming, the trope synecdoche, and creates an example of the standard form of the trope.³¹ In terms of making sense of the text, this gloss is superfluous; rather it generates an example of synecdoche so that the *pueri* know what synecdoche is.³²

The R glossator therefore uses the text as a place of invention, as a means of generating tropes in the same way that he and other glossators used derivation and etymology to generate vocabulary out of the text. This idea holds the key to a series of glosses on one of the most poignant passages in the *Satires*, a typically Horatian celebration of the simple life:

*cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex.*

[‘My supper is served by three boys and a white stone slab supports two vessels with a ladle. Close by stands a cheap salt-cellar with a jug and saucer of Campanian ware’].³³

Guttus (‘vessel’) is glossed with a synonym *vas*, but with the qualification that it has been used instead of *gutta* (drop), that is the container has been used for the contained: *ponitur tamen pro gutta, continens pro contento*. This is, of course, the core definition of the trope metonymy, but the glossator is not content to point out merely one example and goes on to unearth another instance in the same passage.³⁴ Attention is now turned on *cyatho*: *et ponitur ciatus idest vas pro potu cui ipse ciatus est aptus. Sed pro alimento huiusmodi continens pro contento* (‘and *ciatus*, that is a vessel, is used instead of the drink for which that vessel is designed, and this is done for sustenance of this kind; the container stands for the contained’).³⁵

There is more to come. The R glosses next identify the trope hypallage, closely related to metonymy, but neglected by both the *Barbarismus* and the *Ad Herennium*.³⁶ Whereas metonymy involves the substitution of one noun for another, this trope sanctions the

transferral of verbs from one noun in a construction to another, for example from the agent to the patient.³⁷ It seems to have had the greatest currency precisely in the exposition of literary authors and is found for example in Servius' commentary on Virgil and in the Pseudo-Acronian commentaries on Horace, once on the *Odes* and once on the *Satires*.³⁸ However, the R glosses on *Satires*, I, 6, 116–18 present a very different approach to hypallage, using the text to illustrate in some detail what the trope is, and acting independently of the scholiasts. In the first section of the gloss, the phrase *pocula cum cyatho duo* ('two vessels with a ladle') is scrutinised. The initial step is to paraphrase the text into a more logical order, so that the numeral stands next to the noun it qualifies. Then the glossator suggests that in fact Horace means 'two ladles with one cup' and that this is therefore an example of hypallage, the numeral having been transferred from one noun to another: *duo pocula cum ciato idest duo ciatos cum poculo ut ita dicam, scilicet ypallage*. Not content with this piece of ingenuity, the glossator examines *vilis guttus cum patera* ('a cheap vessel with a dish'),³⁹ and finds a reinforcing instance of hypallage: *sicut hec alia, 'vilis guttus cum patera', idest patera cum vili gutto vel gutta; etiam vilis patera cum gutto* ('just as the others, a cheap vessel with a dish, that is a dish with a cheap vessel or a drop, or even a cheap dish with a vessel'). And only ten lines later the glossator unearths another case of hypallage, as if to emphasise and recapitulate what has just been learnt.⁴⁰

This kind of glossing has important implications for both pedagogic practice and literary theory in the twelfth century. Like the *ordo* notes in MS H, these glosses seem to offer a way of testing morphological competence. When the construction is inverted in any way, new syntactic relations are created and the grammatical forms must be changed. The pedagogic value of working through the various versions of a sentence is obvious, and it may be for this very reason that the didactic grammar of Alexander of Villa Dei chose to depart from its usual Donatian model and include hypallage among the tropes.⁴¹ The selfsame analysis can be used to show (supposed) stylistic tournures and test basic grammatical skills.⁴² But there are more theoretical issues here, for these glosses also serve to reframe the relationship between grammar and rhetoric. This happens in two ways, ways which force us to question the validity of a disciplinary divide in elementary reading practice and which raise fundamental issues about the theoretical framework for a literal hermeneutics in

the Middle Ages. Where the expository gloss invents tropes out of the text, its procedure is identical to the means of composition prescribed in elementary manuals on composition. For example, in Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, intended for younger pupils, composition consists in the exposition of textual material, taking the text as a place of invention and using the strategies of amplification, abbreviation and so on to produce new texts; the *materia* of invention can be *ab aliquo poeta ... excruta* ('excerpted from another poet').⁴³ This practice is at once rhetorical (it produces discourse) and grammatical (it consists of textual *enarratio*). This is what Rita Copeland has termed the 'procedural overlap' of the two arts (though she prefers to give *grammatica* the more appealing title of hermeneutics), with the production of discourse proceeding along exegetical lines, and exegesis itself using the text as a means of generating discourse.⁴⁴ Here, *grammatica* is rhetorical, and rhetoric is grammatical; textual exposition is what we might term the 'master practice', the template for both hermeneutic and inventional textuality.

But the glosses also dissolve the boundary between the two arts in another way that is less obvious, but, I shall argue, perhaps more important than procedural identity. A comment in Schleiermacher's early nineteenth-century lectures on hermeneutics provides a helpful starting point: 'The unity of hermeneutics and rhetoric results from the fact that every act of understanding is the obverse of an act of discourse, in that one must come to grasp the thought which was at the basis of the discourse.'⁴⁵ In other words, it is the task of the expositor to recreate and mimic the originating thought of the author. Now, glosses which use adverbial terms like *metaforice* in conjunction with verbs such as *agere* do precisely this: they merge the perspectives of expositor and author. In their description of the text's figurative language, they are not content merely to isolate static examples of tropes, but attempt to 'grasp the thought' behind the verbal surface, to recover the authorial work of making a text. We can even say that in their certainty that exposition relives composition, phrases like *metaphorice agit* appropriate for the expositor the place of the *auctor*. Further, if we accept that the text is a rhetorical construction, and that exposition is a grammatical activity, then this movement of 'grasping' constitutes the appropriation by *grammatica* of rhetoric's productive structures and, once again, reading practice defies the division of the two arts.

This dissolution of the boundary between grammar and rhetoric in

reading depends on a single hermeneutic notion – authorial intention. Only if the *intentio auctoris* is considered a valid category of interpretation can Schleiermacher's notion of 'grasping' and the glossators' practice of appropriation be possible. The recovery of intention, which is of course one of the most important categories in the twelfth-century *accessus ad auctores*, underpins the exposition of the figures and tropes, and represents the most profound erosion of the boundary between grammar and rhetoric. While I shall explore the importance of intention and its relationship to literal reading more fully in the next chapter, it acts as the conceptual backdrop to my reading of the glosses on a final set of tropes. These come under the term *similitudo* (Isidore) or *homoesis* (Donatus): 'homoesis is the showing forth of a less familiar thing through its similarity with something that is more familiar' (*homoesis est minus notae rei per similitudinem eius quae magis nota est demonstratio*).⁴⁶ Isidore and Bede follow Donatus in dividing *similitudo* into three species, *icon* or *imago*, *parabola* or *comparatio* and *paradigma* or *exemplum*. For Isidore, 'an icon is an image, when we undertake to express the form of something by [comparing it to something] of a similar kind' (*icon est imago, cum figuram rei ex simili genere conamur exprimere*). *Comparatio* on the other hand draws together in comparison things of different kinds, for example when Caesar is compared to a lion, while *paradigma* can work in both ways. Donatus' definition of this last species of *similitudo* is much more interesting, for here, in the final line of the *Barbarismus*, he acknowledges an affective, functional element to the trope: the aim of *paradigma* is 'to exhort or deter'.⁴⁷

The rhetorical tradition uses the same terms, but, as we might expect, with a very different emphasis. In the *Ad Herennium*, *similitudo* is both a species of the trope allegory (*permutatio*) and a figure of thought, those *schemata* that are the province of rhetoric alone: *similitudo est oratio traducens ad rem quampiam aliquid ex re dispari simile* ('*similitudo* is a manner of speech that transfers an element of likeness from one thing to another thing').⁴⁸ There are four types of this figure, categorised according to whether they embellish (*causa ornandi*), prove (*causa probandi*), clarify (*apertius dicendi*) or vivify (*ante oculos ponendi*) the orator's discourse: what is stressed here is the efficacy of each type in the work of persuasion.⁴⁹ Similarly, *exemplum* and *imago*, now autonomous figures of thought, are important chiefly in terms of effect.⁵⁰ *Exemplum* is the citing of something done or said in the past to contribute greater clarity,

plausibility, vividness and verisimilitude. Likewise, *imago* posits a similarity of form between two things, is used to praise or blame and to excite these same passions in the listeners. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the confusion over boundaries is intensified: *similitudo* is the generic trope *homozeuxis* in the *Doctrinale*, while in the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf and the *Laborintus* of Eberhard it is a figure of thought.⁵¹

Where in this frontier territory should we locate glossing strategies? More glosses use *similitudo* or a cognate form than any other category of figure, and for this reason I can only explore the *genus* and not its *species* in this chapter.⁵² The *similitudo* glosses range from an informal characterisation of the narrative structure through the adverb *similiter*, to a more detailed recognition of rhetorical tactics.⁵³ For example, the image of Tantalus in the first satire's attack on miserliness attracts the attention of both the M and F glossators.⁵⁴ The M gloss runs (fol. 121^r): *ipse est assimilandus Tantalus et quod Tantalus semper facit in satira pro similitudine* ('[the miser] is to be likened to Tantalus; what Tantalus always does [is used] in this *Satire*, on account of the similarity'). The dying miser lies wretched in the midst of his untouched treasures just as Tantalus, in eternal punishment for stealing the food of the gods and offering it to man, was condemned to stand hungry and thirsty in the middle of a river surrounded by apples: if he attempted to drink, the waters receded and if he attempted to eat, the wind blew away the apples.⁵⁵ In a closely related gloss, the F glossator writes (fol. 43^v): *qui nummos contemplatur in arca et semper sentitur esurie est assimilandus Tantalus* ('he who stares at the riches in his coffer and always feels hungry should be compared to Tantalus'). In both cases, the gloss uncovers the trope at work.

However, there are *similitudo* glosses which use explicitly rhetorical frames of reference. A third twelfth-century glossator in C emphasizes a central tenet of the second satire, namely that it is foolish to lust after married women since the enforced modesty of their dress means it is difficult to get a good look at them.⁵⁶ Horace clinches the point by referring to the practice of inspecting a horse's mouth before it is bought at market. The gloss responds (fol. 40^r): *probat per simile quod matrone minus sunt appetende quam ancille, quia inconvenienter celant non permittendo se inspicere* [read *inspicere*] ('he proves with a simile that married women should be desired less than maids because they inconveniently hide themselves, not permitting themselves to be inspected'). The glossator is here con-

cerned with the figure of thought, operating *causa probandi*. Nor is this interest in cause limited to the c glosses. The attack on snobbery in the sixth satire remarks on the position of someone newly created a senator, with the following phrase: *invidia accrevit, privato quae minus esset* ('envy grew, but would have done so less were you not a public figure').⁵⁷ The f gloss states (fol. 49^r): *vere invidia accreverat, et hoc probat a similitudine* ('truly envy had grown and he proves this by a similitude'). Again, the figure is used *causa probandi*.⁵⁸ But proof is not the only aim of using similitude as a figure of thought. The c glossator comments on its power to clarify (*apertius dicendi* in the words of the *Ad Herennium*), and uses the term *aperte* in his analysis of the simile of the giant mound in the first satire.⁵⁹ Contrary to expectations however, the gloss suggests that it is the glossator's paraphrasing exposition which enhances the clarity of the text, not the simile itself (fol. 38^v): *ostendit per simile, ac si aperte dicat; Tu qui ex acervo plura sumis quam quivis ex parvo, ita facis ac si egeas aque non amplius una urna* ('he demonstrates [it] with a simile as if he said openly "You who take more from the [large] heap than anyone [else takes] from the small one, you do that even if you need only one jug of water"').

The framework of causality that the glosses adopt here is essentially rhetorical. It links the glosses with the functional approach to figurative language in the rhetorical tradition in general, and with the *Ad Herennium*'s definition of *similitudo* in particular. But the notion of cause also means that the expositor claims the position of the author, for in explaining *why* the text is the way it is, he takes up a position of authority over it. The gloss effectively claims to have 'grasped' the originating thought behind the text. In fact, the *aperte* gloss takes this a step further and seeks to replace the text by offering a clearer, implicitly better version. This betrays the notion which underwrites all exegesis – the text is completed by the commentary. This is a reading that privileges the recovery of authorial intention, original rhetoric, but in doing so, enhances and augments the authority of the glossator who grasps it.

I am not suggesting that this appropriation of authority is the glossators' conscious aim; rather, there is a logic inherent in the practice of glossing itself which makes this appropriation inevitable. Nor am I suggesting that these glosses are 'true' to the text, for their version of intention is probably as tendentious and open to question as any other. My point is that this particular expository practice sets

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them apart from the type of medieval reading which is much more familiar to us, and is often assumed to be the dominant exegetical model, even a dominant *mentalité* of the Middle Ages – allegorical interpretation. These glosses put that dominance in question, for the *intentio auctoris*, a category of interpretation to which they are resolutely committed, was the guarantor of the *literal* sense. Now, if these glosses are literal, then it is clear that ‘the letter’ has been extended to accommodate figurative language, and that we may need to rethink what we mean by literal reading. Ultimately, it is *grammatica*’s traditional practice of using literary texts as the basis of linguistic instruction that generates this reassessment. *Grammatica*’s foundation is the letter, and the letter of the literary text is by definition figurative; any reading that describes the grammar and rhetoric of such a text must confront and embrace figurative language. These issues – the literal sense, intention and figuration – are crucial to a proper understanding of medieval reading, and, in the next chapter, I show how satire forms the perfect arena in which to discuss them.

Naked intention: satire and a new kind of literal reading

(Re)defining the 'literal' is fraught with problems. It is a project that takes us to the heart of medieval debates about meaning and interpretation, and brings into sharp relief the ambivalent role of pagan texts in a Christian culture. If we are able to posit a 'literalism' that goes beyond the letter *strictu sensu* and is extended to embrace figuration, then one traditional picture of medieval hermeneutics – that is to say, that the only medieval reading worth the name is allegorical – will be further undermined.¹ What is more, if not all reading is allegorical, then the supposition of modern critical exegetes, that all medieval texts signify allegorically, must be laid open to further question. And if even a pagan text like the *Satires* can be read literally, we may have to look again at, and perhaps modify, the notion of a Middle Ages unable to resolve the conflict of Ciceronianism and Christianity (to use Jerome's model).

These questions seem to me of such importance that I want to begin this penultimate chapter by clearing some rather overgrown conceptual ground. If we are going to define the literal, then we are inevitably forced to formulate what we mean by the allegorical, and at this point, problems of both a terminological and an historical dimension begin to emerge. 'Allegory has many faces', as Pearsall and Salter wisely warned us. We can remove one from consideration immediately, for the notion that allegory is personification is really an invention of the nineteenth century.² Classical and medieval conceptions of allegory are rather less familiar. In its earliest incarnation, *allegoria* is a trope, the means by which you say something other than what you mean (*tropus, quo aliud significatur quam dicitur*) as Donatus puts it in the *Barbarismus*. In other words, it is like all the other tropes in that it operates through a doubleness of meaning, yet different in that while they are based in similitude, *allegoria* is based in difference (*aliud significatur* [my emphasis]).³ We might even say

that in *allegoria*, the notion that signification operates *ad placitum* (by human imposition) reaches its logical conclusion. It is also cited among the tropes in the *Ad Herennium*: *permutatio est oratio aliud verbis aliud sententia demonstrans* ('allegory is a phrase which manifests one thing by its words, and another in its meaning').⁴

The Horace glosses testify to the fact that this tropical version of allegory is at the intersection of grammar and rhetoric in the same way as any other trope. The term *allegoria* itself is never used by glossators, but 3 of its customary 7 species are mentioned. For example, antiphrasis (two explicit mentions) is both a trope and the etymological technique of defining words *per contrarium* ('through their contrary').⁵ In the *Barbarismus*, Donatus describes it as 'irony at the level of one word, such as war, wooded grove and the Fates; war (*bellum*), because it is hardly beautiful (*bellum*), the grove (*lucus*) because no light shines (*non luceat*) there and the Fates (*Parcae*) because they pity no one (*nulli parcant*)'.⁶ In Isidore of course, the antiphrastic principle comes into its own as both derivation *per contrarium* – a central etymological mechanism – and a trope.⁷ Both the *Grecismus* and the *Doctrinale* classify it among the tropes: *Antiphrasis sermo signans contraria dictis; / sic 'lucum' dices, quia raro luce nitescit* ('in antiphrasis the words mean the opposite of what is said, thus you say grove (*lucus*), because it rarely shines with light (*luce*').⁸ This is how the glossator of MS T uses the term at *Satires* II, 3, 181 to describe the use of *sacer*, which usually means sacred but in this context means accursed.⁹ More interestingly, the R glossator focuses on the word *auctoratus* at *Satires* II, 7, 59, a term derived from the verb *auctorare* (to purchase), and used to refer to someone who sold himself into bondage as a gladiator. The glossator could perhaps have derived this information from the Late Antique Acronian *Scholia*, or any glosses citing it,¹⁰ but instead detects antiphrasis and suggests that the past participle *auctoratus* means the opposite of what it appears to mean: *idest infamatus scilicet per antifrasim. Per antifrasim au[c]toratus, idest periturus vel cancellatus* ('that is infamous, through antiphrasis; "respected" through antiphrasis, that is shackled and doomed to die').¹¹ The glossator must have thought the lemma derived from the word *auctor*, a person or author of authority and worthy of respect.

The second species picked on by the glossators is *ironia*, considered to be detectable only in the pronunciation of the words; it therefore preserves a more rhetorical emphasis.¹² Isidore summarises the dis-

inction as follows: *Inter ironiam autem et antiphrasim hoc distat, quod ironia pronuntiatione indicat quod intellegi vult ... antiphrasis vero non voce pronuntiationis significat contrarium, sed suis tantum verbis, quorum origo contraria est* ('Moreover, this is the difference between irony and antiphrasis, that irony indicates through intonation what it wants to be understood, whereas antiphrasis does not signify its contrary through the sound of the enunciation, but through its own words, whose origin is the opposite').¹³ The eight irony glosses all use the adverbial form *yronice*, clearly betraying the same urge to mimic authorial work that we saw in the last chapter. In manuscript M it is used three times and in each case glosses the words of speakers, such as Cato, who sincerely believe what they say, but whom Horace quotes solely to prove the ridiculousness of their position. The disparity between what is seen as the intended meaning of the author and the intended meaning of the speaker creates a form of narrative irony. In manuscript F, the *yronice* gloss allows for the rhetorical idea of irony betrayed by the intonation of the speaker and is used where Horace addresses someone as *praeclare senator* ('illustrious senator'), when in fact he aims to mock him. In the C and Périgueux manuscripts, we return to a more casual use of the term to characterise the narrator's mocking tone.¹⁴

The third species of *allegoria* isolated by the glosses is *paroemia*, defined by Donatus, Bede and Isidore as *adcommodatam rebus temporibusque proverbum* ('a story applied to [other] times and subjects').¹⁵ In other words, we have moved from doubleness at the level of the word to doubleness at a narrative level. The story's moral remains constant in its new narrative context, and so it becomes proverbial. Conrad of Hirsau characterises proverbs in exactly this way in this discussion of Virgil's *Bucolics*: *sicut in proverbii vulgaribus plerumque fit ut aliud dicamus, aliud ipsis verbis longe dissimili sensu significemus* ('This often happens in common proverbs, so that we say one thing and mean something quite different from what the words seem to signify'),¹⁶ and in another example of the intersection of expository and inventive strategies that I have been arguing characterise the relationship of grammar and rhetoric in the glosses, the *artes poetriae* of the late twelfth century expand the role of the proverb (*sententia generalis*) into one of the most attractive means of beginning a composition.¹⁷

Four glosses remark on proverbial elements in the text. The more formal glossator in C uncovers one where Horace's interlocutor

Damasippus rounds off his inordinately long tirade with the phrase *respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo* ('he shall learn to look behind at what is hanging on his back, something which is never noticed'). The Late Antique *Scholia* see in this passage a reference to the Aesopic fable in which all mortals are described as wearing two bags, one on the back in which we carry our own vices and into which we never look, and one in the front, in which are the vices of those we know, and which we look at constantly. The transferable moral is, of course, that men never know their own faults.¹⁸ The comment of the c gloss hints at this human failing but seeks also to intensify the moral impetus of the tale: *proverbium est. Quando aliquis suorum oblitus est peccatorum, videtur post tergum precisse et tunc iubetur respicere post tergum* ('this is a proverb. When someone has forgotten his own sins, he is seen to be cut off from what lies behind and then is ordered to look behind him').¹⁹ Another two such glosses are found in R. Horace compares the courtroom contest of Persius and Rupilius in the seventh satire to the clash of the gladiators Bithus and Bacchius whom the glossator believes to be charioteers (probably because of the preceding equestrian metaphor). The gloss analyses the text as follows: *et est proverbium tractum ab aurigis, sicut in vulgari potest dici de pugilibus qualiter alter excedit alterum* ('this is a proverb taken from charioteers, just as in the vernacular we might talk of boxers and how the one outdoes the other').²⁰ Another example shows the R glossator's awareness of the persuasive power of these tales. The fourth satire continues the attack on the untrustworthiness of satirists and includes complaints by an unnamed opponent who accuses the satirist of being so indiscriminating as to tell even slaves (*pueri*) and old women (*anus*) returning from the bakehouse (*furnus*) and the pond (*lacus*) of the faults of his friends. The gloss comments: *in furno et in molendino semper est garrulitas maxima. Non sepe proverbialiter agitur!* ('in the bakehouse and in the mill there is always a great deal of chattering. Horace does not often use proverbs in his arguing').²¹

The R glossator's caveat about Horace's use of proverbs betrays a hesitancy that comes from working at the outermost boundaries of the literal sense. These glosses articulate the figurative language in the text in exactly the same way as those we explored in the previous chapter, eroding the disciplinary divide and seeking to 'grasp' the intention that lies behind the text's use of tropes and figures. In other words, this is still an intentionalist reading that is literal, but one

which can attend to allegory understood in its classical sense as the trope that says one thing and means another. Of course, *allegoria* as a trope is not merely a classical concept: the dominance of the *Barbarismus* in thinking on figuration until at least the thirteenth century, and the interpretative emphasis on the recovery of intention ensures that it is thoroughly embedded in medieval schemes of figures and tropes too. Glosses which pick out instances of *allegoria* do not, I am suggesting, jeopardise the literalness of this reading; rather, like glosses on the other tropes, they expand its parameters to include figuration. In this way, it becomes possible to see in the practice of the glosses a hint of the theory of the *duplex sensus litteralis* of the fourteenth century, a literal sense which embraced literal and figurative language.²²

Important though this redefined version of the literal is, it does not solve all the problems posed by a literal-allegorical model of textuality for the reading of the *Satires*. The crux of course comes when allegory itself becomes *allegoresis*, an exegetical method, that is to say, when it moves from being a rhetorical trope to a programme for reading. A key text in this process is Bede's *De schematibus et tropis* (a systematic Christianisation of the *Barbarismus*). At first, Bede follows Donatus' scheme closely, adopting his definition of *allegoria* as a trope and listing its seven most important species. However, he then goes on to expand the grammarian's analysis and this, along with his strategy of substituting examples from Scripture for Donatus' Virgilian illustrations, has far-reaching consequences.²³ The most important step is the division of *allegoria* into two types, verbal (*in verbis*) and factual (*in factis*).²⁴ Bede's example of verbal allegory is Isaiah, 11, 1: *Egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet* ('and there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a Branch shall grow out of his roots'), where the birth of Christ is prophesied. This example can easily be accommodated within the scheme of 'double meaning' that characterises all the tropes. However, factual allegory takes us beyond the scope of the trivium, the language arts (*scientie sermocinales*), for it deals with the signification of things, not words.²⁵ The words *Abraham duos filios habuit* ('Abraham had two sons') are literally true and signify their usual referents, but these referents can themselves become the signs of something else. Abraham's sons are thus both historical persons and the signs of the two peoples, Jews and Gentiles, with whom God drew up a covenant. Now, this second type of allegory is clearly founded on Augustinian semiotics, in which

the Bible and the world are God's two texts. The facts 'authored' by God in the book of Nature (the world) possess are semiotically charged, are signs, but only the sacred text (the Bible) can express this.²⁶ Therefore, factual allegory is for theologians (exegetes of the Bible) and not grammarians – expositors of secular texts – to explore.

There are several important points to be drawn from Bede's treatment of allegory in the *De schematibus*. The first is the tacit shading of allegory into the sphere of exegesis (*allegoresis*), for it is clear that Bede is offering a way of reading (although, as we might expect by now, it is framed in terms of a text's way of meaning). The second is his location of allegory at the narrative level, so that it becomes a way of decoding stories by generating new stories. Thirdly, we need to recognise his implicit distinction of the modes of signifying of sacred and secular texts.²⁷

It is significant that in the twelfth century, new thinking on allegory occurs in the context of reading and commenting on pagan authors, in the sphere of the grammarians and not the theologians. Indeed, this new thinking has even become a way for modern scholars to group certain scholars and certain commentaries together under a single term – Chartrian. Once again, William of Conches, who very probably taught at Chartres, seems to motivate this new strand of thought, most notably in his commentary on Macrobius' early fifth-century commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*.²⁸ Macrobius used his commentary on Cicero's text to set out 'his view of the relation between fictitious narrative and philosophical truth', as Peter Dronke puts it.²⁹ Central to this project is an exploration of fiction itself, its kinds, its qualities, its uses. The all-embracing term for it is *fabula*, but, like *allegoria*, it is subject to a multiplicity of divisions and sub-divisions. William summarises: *Et nota, quod large in hoc loco accipitur fabula: non ita ut Tullius, qui dicit fabulam esse id, quod neque verum neque veri simile est; sed vocat fabulam 'omnem illam oracionem in qua verba non sonant hoc, quod habent significare a prima invencione'*, et omne illud, quod confingitur vel confingi potest, etsi sit veri simile ('And note that fable is taken here in a broad sense, not in the sense of Cicero, who defines a fable as what is neither true nor probable. Rather, [Macrobius] calls *fabula* "any discourse in which the words do not refer to that which they were first invented to signify", and anything that has been made up or might be made up, even if it is similar to the truth').³⁰ The echo of *allegoria's aliud significatur quam dicitur* is not hard to detect.

William rejects the rhetorical definition of *fabula* (a means of expanding upon the facts of a case, clearly distinct from *historia* and *argumentum* on account of its blatantly fantastic nature), and suggests instead a more comprehensive view of *fabula*, important for its capacity to both instruct and delight.³¹ He divides fables into two basic types: Aesopic tales, which are morally instructive but signify nothing of real truth (*ad aliquam morum instructionem exortamur, et tamen per eas nichil veri significat*), and other *fabulae* which conceal a truth that is of philosophical value.³² In this type of fable, the fictional text hides its real meaning and acts as an *integumentum*, a clothing of or covering for the truth. So, for the author of a 'Chartrian' type commentary on the *Aeneid* later in the century, 'an integument is a kind of demonstration that wraps the understanding of the truth in a fabled narrative – that is why it is also called a "wrapping"' (*integumentum vero est genus demonstrationis sub fabulosa narratione veritatis claudens intellectum, unde et involucrum dicitur*).³³ In this model, the text's real meaning and real value is secret; the reader must work through the narrative, decode it and produce a new narrative which, in the end, supplants the text. Drawing back the cloth and revealing the truth can only be accomplished by a certain kind of reading, a reading which is prepared systematically to substitute for the immediate significance of the text a new layer of obscured meaning. To take a famous example, Jupiter's castration of his father is read by William as follows: 'This is nothing but that the testicles signify the fruits of the earth, through which, in the course of time, the seed from the bowels of the earth is diffused more and more. Jupiter cuts off the testicles of Cronos, and this is nothing but that the warmth of the upper element ripens the fruits and makes them ready for cutting off and gathering. The fruits are cast into the sea, i.e. into the hollow of the human belly, and thus Venus – that is, sensual delight – is born.'³⁴ In this way, pagan myths incompatible with Christianity can be rehabilitated and even base matter endowed with the beauty of philosophical truth.³⁵

Both William of Conches and his contemporary Abelard take the radical, but entirely logical, step of drawing a parallel between the allegorical mode of signifying in the Bible and the integumental structure of some pagan fables.³⁶ Both act as veils for a deeper truth, though, it should be noted, *integumenta* can only be compared with examples of *allegoria in verbis*, since factual allegory is exclusive to the Bible. Moreover, Bede's *allegoria in verbis* and William's

integumentum both exist because of a particular hermeneutical strategy, a 'double reading' of substitution which the biblical exegete or the grammarian applies to the text. In other words, just as the *grammatici* invent tropes out of the text and claim to reenact the rhetorical work of the author, the integumentally minded reader transforms the text into a 'fabulous narrative'. Again, the expositor moves into the territory of the author. In this respect, the glossing on tropes (including *allegoria*), integumental reading and Biblical exegesis are all, essentially, the same; they all claim that their reading merely replicates what is in the text. At this point, the distinction between literal and allegorical seems rather redundant.

Perhaps we can draw the distinction another way. It is clear that certain kinds of reading were considered appropriate for certain kinds of text, that a notion of 'exegetical decorum' operates in these discussions of allegory and the fable. It is this notion of decorum or appropriateness which helps us to make sense of *fabula* glosses on the *Satires*, which are, it must be said, rather haphazard. The s glossator for example calls the story of the oiled corpse at *Satires* II, 5, 84-8 a *fabula*, while for the R glossator it was an *exemplum*.³⁷ The F and M glossators concur once again in naming the story of Tantalus a *fabula*, but here they had merely to follow the description Horace himself gave of the story.³⁸ Other glosses seem indebted in different ways to the late Antique scholia. In the seventh *Satire*, the surge of Persius' invective is compared to 'a winter torrent where an axe is occasionally borne' (*flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis*).³⁹ This rather gnomic saying is considered by the Acronian scholia to be a reference to the story (*fabula*) in which an innocent rustic accidentally throws his iron axe into the river. Mercury, watching from a hill-top, takes pity on him and returns the axe transformed into gold. When another less simple-hearted rustic heard the tale, he threw his axe into the river deliberately but it was returned to him in its original, iron state.⁴⁰ The more formal C glossator presents the same interpretation in abbreviated form but does not attempt to integrate it into the argument of the text, or to draw a moral from it: *Tangit fabulam de quodam rustico qui securim in quodam fluvio amisit, cui restituit Mercurius auream. Alius vero rusticus cum audisset suam ibidem proiecit cui non aurea sed ferrea restituta est* ('He touches on the fable of a certain rustic who dropped his axe into a river, and to whom Mercury gave it back (in the form of) gold. But, when another rustic heard of this, he threw his axe in the same place, but it was

given back to him as iron and not as gold').⁴¹ The verb *tangit* ('he touches on') is important here, for it shows clearly that the text does not consist of a systematic *narratio fabulosa* which requires integumental analysis from the glossator. Indeed, the allusiveness of the *Satires* generates other glosses of this type. In R the reference to drunken Fufius gives rise to a retelling of the story of this tragic actor who, whilst playing Ilione, slept soundly on stage as the ghost of Ilione's mother called repeatedly on him to awake. The glossator simply states (fol. 80^r) *fabula est* and recounts in more detail what Horace merely alludes to.⁴² The same is true of the R gloss which seeks to supply a subtext for Horace's mention of the man who finds treasure: *tangit fabulam ... quidem habebat filium nebolonem et voracem et noluit ei legare pecuniam, timens ne cito consumeret. Sed abscondit in terra quam ei legavit ut cum omnia consumpsisset, et ad agriculturam se vertisset, inveniret pecuniam; ille, ante consumptis omnibus locavit mercenario a quo inventa est pecunia qua ipse agrum emit* ('he touches upon a fable ... someone had a spendthrift and greedy son and did not want to bequeath him any money, fearing lest he would use it all up quickly. But he hid what he left to him in the earth so that when he had used up everything and turned to farming, he might find the money. He, [however], before he had used up everything, hired a labourer who found the money and with it bought the field').⁴³

These versions of *fabula* seem to operate more in the sphere of folklore and proverbial wisdom than as veils for philosophical truths. They fall into William of Conches' first type of fable, still morally valuable, but without the revelatory capacity of the *integument*. Reflection on this kind of fable also has a long history, and significantly, was traditionally associated with elementary pedagogy. Thus Isidore's discussion of this type of fable is heavily indebted to Priscian's *Praeexercitamina*, which recommended the reading of *fabulae* for the *pueri*.⁴⁴ Both authors deal principally with what they term Aesopic fables, those in which animals or inanimate objects are endowed with speech and talk to each other, and both consider that fables have a useful ethical function (*ad mores*); their amusing nature makes the moral they convey more palatable.⁴⁵ The twelfth century saw a resurgence in the use of Aesopic fables in elementary education, with authors as important as Alexander Nequam revising the corpus to create the *Novus Aesopus* and the *Novus Avianus*.⁴⁶ Moreover, the work of Avianus was included in the collection of basic school texts

known as the *Liber catonianus*.⁴⁷ But, although both Isidore and Priscian cite Horace's tale of the country mouse as the quintessential *fabula*, none of the glosses follows them,⁴⁸ and in the single instance of a well-known Aesopic fable being cited in the glosses, it is referred to as a *proverbium*! In the *Satire* on fortune hunters, the text mentions *corvum hiantem* ('a gaping raven') whom someone dupes (*deludet*). The R glosses rightly point out that this is a reference to the Aesopic fable of the fox and the crow, so archetypal that William of Conches used it to illustrate this genre of *fabula*.⁴⁹ Once again, the gloss functions in a supplementary fashion, giving in full what the text only alludes to in a proverbial manner: *Contingit quodam tempore quod corvus invenit caseum quem cum videret vulpes comedentem caseum, dixit 'Si avis hec tam bene cantaret quam est pulcra, valde [au]dieret eam.'* *Corvus, qui voluit cantare, hiavit et perdidit caseum; unde proverbium est; deludet hiantem etcetera* ('It happened once that the crow found some cheese. When the fox saw him eating the cheese, he said, "If the bird's singing matches its beauty, it would be well worth hearing." The crow, who wanted to [be able to] sing, opened its mouth and lost the cheese. Whence the proverb, "dupes the gaping [crow]"').⁵⁰

It is clear that these glosses on the *Satires* do not represent the application of *fabula* theory to the text. Even when they do use the term, there is no trace of the systematic integumental reading which characterised 'Chartrian' exposition, and which generated new narratives out of old. In a sense, it is Bede who provides us with a clue as to why this might be the case. He emphasises that only the Bible signifies through factual allegory, and that therefore, only the Bible can be read in that way. This is a clear statement of what I have termed exegetical decorum, the idea that particular kinds of text demand a particular kind of reading. It is very important to realise that this also applies to different kinds of secular writing. So, while the essence of the integumental metaphor is that the text is a veil over what it really means to say, medieval definitions of satire – the genre with which we are dealing here – are utterly at odds with this notion of concealment. Consider how one *accessus* to Horace differentiates the *Epistles* and the *Satires*: *distat etiam, quia hic* [i.e. *Epistles*] *pulchris et honestis verbis nos ad virtutes excitat, ibi* [i.e. *Satires*] *nudis et apertis verbis vitia resecat* ('they are different moreover because here, he arouses us to virtue by beautiful and noble words, while there, he restrains us from vice with naked and frank words').⁵¹ Satire is naked, nude or, to

put it in the terms of the integumental metaphor, *unclothed*. In hermeneutic terms, it is transparent; while the *fabula* must have its truth uncovered, satire speaks on the surface.

The anti-integumental definition of satire was an essential part of a tradition, possibly dating from Varro in the first century, but certainly from Diomedes in the fourth, which characterised satire through an etymological investigation of the word *satira*. Using the techniques of *derivatio* we explored in chapter 6, early scholars like Isidore derive the term from the naked, woodland gods known as satyrs (*satiri*) or from a dish full of offerings to the gods (*satura*).⁵² In the twelfth century, the idea of nudity is far more important to definitions of satire than the notions of variety and copiousness embodied in the second derivation. Conrad of Hirsau writes of the 'naked, mocking satyrs'. The commentary on Juvenal associated with William of Conches, while proposing three etymologies, the first from the satyrs, the second from the dish of offerings and the third from *satiri*, that is country folk, chooses to expand only on the first.⁵³ Moreover, the Juvenal commentator develops his comparison of satire and the goat-like satyrs by contrasting the satiric mode of reprehension to that of writers who cover up (*velant*) their critical comments.⁵⁴

Of course, this is an explicit reference to integumental composition, and it is absolutely clear that satire cannot, by definition, use that resource. An *accessus* to Juvenal preserved in the twelfth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 9 is even more explicit: *Potest enim satira dici a satiris ... satira est nuda quemadmodum nudi sunt ... et sine integumento Romanorum vicia reprehendit* ("Satire" can be derived from "satyrs" ... satire is naked in the same way that they are naked ... and it reprehends the vices of the Romans without integument').⁵⁵ Moreover, in a manuscript of the late twelfth century which contains the *Satires*, the *Art of Poetry* and introductory matter on Virgil, satire's nudity is emphasised in a striking metaphor: *Nuda est quia per circumloquutiones non loquitur, ut Virgilius et Ovidius qui de [...] foramine loquendtes 'quique labris verecunde Diane'* ('[satire] is nude because it does not speak through circumlocutions like Virgil and Ovid, who, when discussing the hole [...] [say] "whoever through the lips of chaste Diana"').⁵⁶ There is a verbatim parallel in Ovid's *Ibis*, 479: *Quique verecundae speculantem labra Dianae*,⁵⁷ and the medieval scholia on this line develop its significance: *Actaeonea tangit. Descriptio est Actaeonis, qui, cum viderat Dianam quae balneabat se nudatam, mutatus est in cervum, et a*

propriis canibus dilaceratus. Labra inferiora, s. vulvam labratam. ('this alludes to Actaeon. It is a description of Actaeon, who, when he saw Diana who was bathing in the nude, was changed into a stag and torn to shreds by his own hounds. The lower lips, namely, the vulva').⁵⁸ Given the recent work of feminist scholars like Carolyn Dinshaw, it is no surprise to see allegorical textuality figured by the female body and its garments; here we have Diana's modesty and the need to cloak her nudity as a metaphor for the 'modesty' of the style of Virgil and Ovid compared with the 'nudity' of satire, and an implicit contrast between the veiled modesty of Diana's body and the immodesty of the satyrs' bodies.⁵⁹ This is made more explicit in a comment on Persius by the *magister* in Conrad of Hirsau's late eleventh-century *Dialogus super auctores*, where the *satiri* are described as being *inverecundi corporis* ('immodest of body') and *nihil tractantes de tegumentis* ('never using any covering').⁶⁰

The situation is clear. Integumental or allegorical reading is generically opposed to the satiric mode of writing: the one treats the text as a covering for secrets, the other works by open and naked reprehension. Satire has no secrets, and Horace's *Satires* should not be read as *allegoria in verbis*, as having an allegorical sense. Even their use of the term *fabula* does not tie them to Chartrian analysis. They always read the text literally.⁶¹

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that satire's nakedness is the essential conceptual backdrop for everything I have said in the last two chapters about grammar's relationship to rhetoric in the practice of reading and the expansion of literal reading to include figurative language. This link emerges more strongly if we move from looking at the mode (naked) to the substance of satire's work. Above all, satire reprehends vice. In the words of one twelfth-century expositor of the *Satires*: *satirae autem dicuntur quantum ad reprehensionem* ('moreover they are called satires in so far as they reprehend').⁶² This is not an abstract statement. My survey of critical language employed by twelfth-century glosses on Horace reveals that a 'vocabulary of censure', using the verbs *reprehendere*, *vituperare* and *invehere*, is overwhelmingly predominant in the analysis of the *Satires*.⁶³ For example, the R glossator summarises the satiric law as: *lex satire est criminalia dampnare, venialia condonare* ('the law of satire is to condemn serious faults and condone minor ones').⁶⁴ The discussion of Stoic ideas in the third satire is glossed in the same manuscript *hic tua, infeste, dogma Stoicorum vituperat* ('Here, you wicked man, he

attacks your doctrine, [that] of the stoics!').⁶⁵ The formal c glossator summarises the eighth satire: *hic reprehendit veneficas que nullo modo a veneficiis suis removeri possint* ('here he reprehends the sorceresses who can in no way be dragged away from their potions').⁶⁶ As the writer of the Diana analogy puts it, satire is *dicax quia nemini parcit* ('sharp, because it spares no one').

On one level, this characterisation constitutes a recognition of the *Satires* as literary text, a text which following on from epideictic rhetoric, seeks to praise or blame (reprehend).⁶⁷ It is widely known that the study of literature and the study of ethics are intimately allied in the medieval commentary tradition, and that literature is defined, in theory at least, by its ethical credentials.⁶⁸ (I say 'in theory' because the reading practice of the glosses clearly demonstrates that more purely textual features, like figures and word order, also constitute 'literariness'.) When the question 'to which part of philosophy does it belong?' emerges as a standard part of the 'c-type' *accessus ad auctores* in the twelfth century, the answer for literary texts from the *Satires* to Ovid's *Art of Love* is *ethice subponitur* ('it belongs to ethics').⁶⁹ Thus, the author of the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* (possibly William of Conches) can cite Horace more often than any pagan *auctor* apart from the more obviously moral Cicero and Seneca, the pseudo-Boethian *De disciplina scolarium* can recommend that Horace be read by young students, and John of Salisbury, in the *Policraticus*, can give Horace (along with Juvenal, Persius, Cicero and even Ovid) the title of *ethicus*.⁷⁰ But we also need to take into account precisely how this moral purpose is articulated in the glosses, for in the main body of the analysis, as we have seen, the emphasis is overwhelmingly linguistic.

Now, because satirical reprehension works nakedly, some of this moralising (the work of praise and blame) can take the form of textual paraphrase, a reiteration of what the text already says. Where Horace discusses the necessity of judging one's friends fairly in the third satire, the R glossator conveys an ethical point merely by summarising the text: *Alium non debet amicus amicum reprehendere, immo bonorum et malorum collationem facere et sic fuerunt plura bona quam mala* ('a friend must not reprehend another friend, but rather make a reckoning of the good and bad things, and thus there were more good than bad').⁷¹ More importantly, these paraphrases are given focus and direction by more explicit statements which occur within the abbreviated *accessus* which introduce the text, either as a whole or as individual poems. These statements of reprehension, of

the moral direction of the text, are consistently made within one particular category of the *accessus* – that of authorial intention (*intentio auctoris*).⁷² In other words, the intentionalist structure, the ‘grasping’ of the original thought that underwrote the reading of the figures and tropes, is also the basis of the text’s ethical value. In MS H for example, notable for its *ordo* glosses, the following *accessus* introduces the *Satires*: *habet qua vicia hominum materiam, de quibus tractat et quas reprehendere intendit* ([Horace] has the vices of men as his subject, which he deals with and which he intends to reprehend’).⁷³ In MS T, the introduction to the very first satire runs: *Intentio presentis sermonis est instabilitatem hominum corrigere* (‘the intention of this present satire is to correct the instability of man’).⁷⁴ The F glossator is more expansive (fol. 42^v): *Hunc sermonem facit oratius ad mecenatem in quo hominum inconstantiam ... reprehendit, breviter tangendo de quibusdam professionibus ut perveniat ad avariciam de qua largius tractare intendebat* (‘Horace writes this satire for Mecenas, in which he reprehends the inconstancy of men, touching upon certain professions only briefly so that he might come to avarice which he was intending to deal with at more length’). Finally, the F gloss’ introduction to the sixth satire of Book II subsumes both praise and blame under the category of intention: *Intencio oratii est in hoc sermone reprehendere civilem vitam propter multas incommoditates que ibi habentur et laudando commendare rusticam vitam* (‘the intention of Horace in this satire is to reprehend urban life on account of the many inconveniences which are present there, and, by praising, to recommend the country life’).⁷⁵

Even this very small sample shows that the category of intention is, as it were, the hermeneutic forum in which all the other manoeuvres of the glossators are played out. Intention is what guarantees the moral value which allows the text to be read at all, to be considered authoritative. Moreover, we know that authorial intention is inextricably linked with the literal sense: if these glosses on the *Satires* analyse what the author (supposedly) intends, then they are by definition the instruments of a literal reading.⁷⁶ Further, we have seen how the category of intention allows the reader, modern or medieval, to appropriate for him or herself the place and authority of the author by claiming to have ‘grasped’ the originating thought behind the discourse. But we can also see this appropriation in the very format of the glossed book, where the text is not only surrounded by glosses but is rewritten between the lines. The division between text and gloss

Satire and a new kind of literal reading

becomes increasingly hard to sustain, visually and conceptually.⁷⁷ And, in a direct disciplinary parallel, the division of grammar and rhetoric, of *enarratio* (reading) and *inventio* (writing) dissolves. The reading of the *Satires* embodied in the glosses therefore embraces the first two trivium arts; it simultaneously draws on and transforms them both. It shows us how the literal can embrace the figurative, how *grammatica* becomes rhetorical and how a redefined literalism redefines the relationship of the two arts.⁷⁸

These shifts are significant in themselves, but are really part of a more general and far-reaching reassessment that we may need to make about reading in the High Middle Ages. Satire, by virtue of its naked moral intention, allows for the development of a mode of exposition that investigates the surface of the text; it attends to the text's materiality for its own sake, not for the sake of a hidden moral which the text merely adumbrates. If we look forward to the thirteenth century, the Aristotelian prologue, with its notions of causality and agency, served to promote the discussion of human as opposed to divine authorship, to allow theorists to focus on human literary activity.⁷⁹ In the twelfth century, the conjunction of naked satire and an intentionalist hermeneutics represents a similar development by promoting a reading that acknowledges texts to be useful, valuable and even pleasurable in themselves, and not in what they veil. Both approaches contribute to establishing a notion of 'literary' texts.

Literacy: a new model for the classical text in the Middle Ages?

Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius?

‘What does Horace have to do with the Psalter?’

Jerome, *Epistles*, XXII, 29¹

In this one short question, we have the germ of a dilemma which persisted in Western culture for over a millennium. How can a Christian culture accommodate the heritage of a pagan past? In Augustine’s famous words, how can pagan texts ‘be converted to Christian use’ (*in usum convertenda christianum*)?² Modern scholars have perpetuated this question and continue to use it as a way of characterising the place of classical texts in medieval culture. In this model, reading the classics is full of anxiety and *grammatica*’s contact with authoritative texts is hedged about with the fear of moral contamination. Of course, there are plenty of accounts from medieval chronicles, lives and prescriptive curricula to justify this view, and, what is more, they make good reading: monks corrupted by Ovid turn to the more substantial pleasures of prostitutes and young boys, teachers warn of the seductive powers of the secular *auctores*.³ We now need to ask whether the practice of reading, the interaction with texts in history that we have traced, can be squared with this model.

I have found only one example of this form of anxiety in glossing on Horace’s *Satires*. At the beginning of *Satires* I, 8, the glossator in MS R asserts that Horace’s intention (again, the hermeneutic key) is ‘to reprehend sorceresses’ (*reprehendere veneficas*) and ‘the belief of the Romans’ (*fidem romanorum*).⁴ He then develops this notion further, by looking both at Horace’s narrative method and by drawing an impressive parallel from patristic theology:

*Hic reprehendit Oratius veneficas scilicet vel Canidiam et Saganam,
introducens Priapum deum earum opera testificantem et detegentem,*

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*vel ut beatus Geronimus perhibet, ritus gentilium et idolatriam deridet inducens ipsum Priapum deum ortorum.*⁵

[Here Horace reprehends sorceresses, that is to say both Canidia and Sagana, introducing the god Priapus testifying to and disclosing their deeds; and, as St Jerome asserts, he derides the rite and idolatry of the pagans by introducing Priapus, god of the gardens.]

The reference to Jerome is not a casual one, for the R glossator is quoting very closely the *Commentary on Isaiah*, where Jerome uses the opening lines of this satire in his condemnation of false images.⁶ Just for a moment, Horace is read through Jerome. This is a clear manifestation of the perennial problem of using pagan texts in a Christian curriculum. But, when we look at the gloss in its own context and bear in mind that it is exceptional, a rather different, although complementary, explanation begins to emerge. Remember that the R glosses are the most advanced literal reading we have encountered; their audience has moved beyond basic grammar to issues of aesthetics and textual strategy. These students understand the text. In other words, this gloss is at root the result of an advance in the Latin literacy and grammatical skill of the *pueri*, for in so far as their increasing competence renders it more accessible, the teacher intervenes to control their reading. Literacy is, in the end, what triggers the anxiety.

If grammatical level, or linguistic competence, is to provide us with a new way of thinking about the interaction of pagan text and Christian culture, we need address the issue of level within the art of grammar itself. One anonymous commentary on Priscian's *Institutiones*, the *Omnis traditio*, while drawing a distinction between theory (*scientia artis*, 'the science of the art') and practice (*ars*, 'the art itself'), develops the notion of level and applies it to the very earliest stages of *grammatica*.⁷ Each aspect of grammatical study was broached in two distinct phases (*traditiones*): the first operates *sine argumentis* ('without arguments'), the second assigns a rational framework to that which is learnt at the first level. The first level deals with data, its memorisation and any explanation that is deemed necessary, whereas the second level attributes to the data a more theoretical foundation. The first is for the *pueri*, the second for the *iam provecti* ('those who are now more advanced'):

Prima traditio sine argumentis aut cum paucis et eisdem probabilibus transcurritur. Secunda traditio ... certam rationem debet assignare.

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Sic alphabetum primo pueris traditur cognoscendum sine cantione vocalium et consonantium que maturior distinguit traditio. . . non est necesse secundum traditionem que sit iam proVectis, copia probationum carere.

[The first level is run through without arguments or with very few and then only probable ones. The second level must establish a sure rational basis. Thus the alphabet is first given to the *pueri* to learn without the recitations of the vowels and consonants, which the more mature level distinguishes . . . according to the traditional practice, it is not necessary for those who are now more advanced, to leave out the great majority of proofs.]⁸

In other words, the first level is what we might term 'data-oriented': it deals with issues as and when they arise, and is distinctly pragmatic. The second level is 'theory-oriented' and is concerned to fit data into a theoretical framework.

This contrast of *pueri* and *proVecti* was a common topos in twelfth-century grammatical texts.⁹ Alexander of Villa Dei and Alexander Nequam stated openly that they were writing for the *pueri*, while grammarians writing for the *proVecti* were keen to point out the theoretical standing of their statements.¹⁰ They often refer to the 'puerile' approach, and their remarks, though scattered, can help us to reconstruct something of the more elementary level. For example, it is clear that the *pueri* found it hard to forget the structures of the vernacular, like the article. As we saw in chapter 5, the *Promissimus* commentary contains a clear example of a grammatical point being explained by referring to the mother-tongue: *Similiter in articulis Gallicis, ubi dicitur puero: Ubi ponitur li, cuius casus? Et respondet: Nominativi; et ubi dicitur de, et respondet: Genetivi* ('Similarly with the French articles, when someone says to the boy, "Where *li* is put, what is its case?" And he responds, "The nominative", and "Where *de* is said, (what is the case)?" and he responds, "The genitive").¹¹ In broader terms, the *pueri* seem to be associated with an inability to move away from the surface to the deeper structures of a text. This is implied by Peter Hispanus in his discussion of the way in which correctness (*congruitas*) has a semantic as well as a grammatical dimension: *Quod enim quidam obiciunt 'homine supra tectum sedente' bonam esse grammaticam 'homo qui sedet supra tectum', cadente autem minime, satis pueriliter instant. In puerorum tamen dictaminibus non que ad intellectum, sed que ad vocem sunt, levitatis causa considerantur*

(‘for they argue in a rather puerile way, those who assert that “by the man above the roof sitting” is, in good grammar, “the man who sits above the roof”, avoiding oblique cases almost entirely. Nevertheless, in the compositions of the *pueri*, things [done] which are in terms of the *vox* rather than the meaning are considered a cause of amusement’).¹²

In a similar comment, Peter Helias demonstrates the difficulties posed for the *pueri* by the syntax of classical texts. Using an example from the *Aeneid*, he explains that a plural verb can sometimes govern a nominative singular by virtue of the figure of prolepsis. His sophisticated view of *regimen* as syntactic completeness meant that he could see this phrase as an example of government, even though it is, in strictly grammatical terms, incorrect. The *pueri* take a rather different approach, reading out of the plural form a singular verb which, they argue, governs the nominative singular. Peter strongly resists this, for such a reading denies the existence of the figure: *verbum pluralis numeri est, et exigit nominativum singularem per proleptism* [sic]. *Nec debemus dicere ut dicunt pueri, quod regitur ab hoc verbo ‘venit’ quod sumitur a ‘venere’*. *Tunc enim nulla esset figura* (‘the verb is plural in number and governs the nominative singular through prolepsis. Nor must we say, as the *pueri* do, that it is governed by the verb *venit*, which is taken from *venere*, for then there would be no figure’).¹³ The puerile approach cannot accommodate the figurative construction of an *auctor* and seeks to convert the phrase into a form based on straightforward grammatical agreement.

In other words, the *pueri* undertake a pragmatic form of *enarratio*. This of course confirms their link with the *prima traditio* (‘first level’) of grammatical thinking, and, more importantly for our purposes, allies them with the practice of the pedagogic glossators. While the young students do not annotate the text themselves, the glosses, which are designed to address their needs, carry all the hallmarks of the *prima traditio*. They rewrite the text into simpler forms; they draw on the resources of the vernacular when necessary; they take from the text what they need and leave what they do not. Classical texts and their glosses were the instruments of grammar for the *pueri*.

Such glosses cannot on their own overturn the idea that medieval culture persistently de-historicised and Christianised what came to it from the past, but they should certainly give us pause for thought. *Magistri* control the text in more subtle and more interesting ways, relying on the illiteracy of their audience to limit access and understanding.¹⁴ Indeed, perhaps the most pressing paradox of medieval

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grammatica's use of Horace lies not so much in Christianity's adoption of pagan material, but in the tacit conviction that difficult Latin literature in verse might serve as the basis for learning the Latin language. Ultimately, the central conflict around which the *expositio auctorum* is played out is not one of Ciceronianism versus Christianity, but one of linguistic difficulty versus varying degrees of illiteracy.¹⁵ Glossing is the attempt to resolve this conflict.

How then are we to answer Jerome's question – 'What has Horace to do with the Psalter?' If medieval grammar's reading of the authors is our starting-point, we must reply – 'Everything'. Both texts were used in the service of literacy, the one to learn the syllables, the other to learn about the word, the phrase, the text. Both were a resource, a field of elementary pedagogic practice. Both are *grammatica*.

Notes

I INTRODUCTION

- 1 For representative examples of the three approaches see Wolfgang Iser, 'The Reading Process; A Phenomenological Approach', in *New Directions in Literary History*, ed. R. Cohen, Baltimore, 1974; Elizabeth Freund, ed., *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism*, London, 1987; R. Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 3 (1982), 65-83. A useful survey of this theoretical field is Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory; A Critical Introduction*, London, 1984.
- 2 I am thinking here particularly of Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78; Anthony Grafton, 'Teacher, Text and Pupil in the Renaissance Classroom: A Case Study from a Parisian College', *History of Universities*, 1 (1981), 37-70.
- 3 Throughout this book I use the text in Horace, *Opera*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Stuttgart, 1985 (referred to by page number only); translations are from Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, ed. and trans. H. R. Fairclough, Cambridge, Mass., 1928 (referred to as trans. with page number).
- 4 For general issues of classical learning in the twelfth century see R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, repr. Cambridge, 1973, pp. 183-201; *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth-Century*, eds. R. L. Benson and G. Constable, Oxford, 1982; E. M. Sanford, 'The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the *Libri manuales*', *TPAPA*, 55 (1924), 190-248; A. G. Jonkgees, 'Translatio studii: les avatars d'un thème médiéval', in *Miscellanea medievalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer*, Groningen, 1967, 41-51; R. H. Lucas, 'Medieval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 225-53; E. Jeuneau, 'La lecture des auteurs classiques à l'école de Chartres durant la première moitié du xii^e siècle: un témoin privilégié: les *Glosae super Macrobius* de Guillaume de Conches', in R. R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 95-102; R. W. Hunt, 'The Deposit of the Latin Classics in the Twelfth Century', in Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences*, pp. 51-5; R. M. Thomson, 'England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Past and Present*, 101 (1983), 3-21. See also, E. K. Rand, 'The Classics in the Thirteenth Century', *Speculum*, 4 (1929), 249-69.
- 5 See M. Irvine, '“Bothe Texte and Glose”: Manuscript Form, the Textuality of

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Commentary, and Chaucer's Dream Poems', in C. Cook Morse, P. Reed Doob and M. Curry Woods, eds., *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies*, Kalamazoo, 1992, pp. 81-119.

2 LEARNING TO READ: THE CLASSICS AND THE CURRICULUM

- 1 The text is edited for the first time in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 269-71; Hunt's invaluable study has made the work of those interested in literacy and learning in this period immeasurably easier. For discussion of this text and the Cambridge manuscript (G) in which it is preserved, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 250-8. For Nequam's life and work, see R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam 1157-1217*, ed. and rev. M. T. Gibson, Oxford, 1984 and J. R. O'Donnell, 'The Liberal Arts in the Twelfth-Century with special reference to Alexander Neckham (1157-1217)', in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Age*, Actes du Quatrième Congrès Internationale de Philosophie Médiévale, Paris, 1969, pp. 127-35. A very similar list of texts for grammar is given in Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. C. H. Buttmer, Washington, 1969, pp. 45-6.
- 2 This merging is most trenchantly traced in A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*, London, 1986, pp. xiv-xvi and 4-8 in particular. There is a useful survey of the stages of childhood in Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, London, 1990, pp. 21-31. A good survey of sources on *pueritia* is P. Riché, 'L'enfant dans la société chrétienne aux xie-xiie siècles', now reprinted as item xiv in his *Education et Culture dans l'Occident Médiévale*, Aldershot, 1993, pp. 15-29.
- 3 *Metalogicon*, 1, 13, ed. J. B. Hall with K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 98, Turnhout, 1991, p. 32.
- 4 See the important article by D. Alexandre-Bidon, 'La lettre volée: apprendre à lire à l'enfant au Moyen Age', *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 44 (1989), 953-92.
- 5 On this development see M. B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in *The Medieval World*, eds. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby, London, 1973, pp. 555-77.
- 6 See the catalogue of an exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, entitled *Alphabets à lire, à dire, à écrire, à broder*, ed. D. Alexandre-Bidon, Paris, 1990, no. 2 bis, p. 5.
- 7 See JoAnn Hoeppner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling 1350-1548: Learning, Literacy and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese*, Princeton, 1985, pp. 60-2 on this example, and chapters 1 and 2 for grammatical education in general in the later period.
- 8 John of Salisbury, *Policraticus sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*, II, 28, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 118, Turnhout, 1993, p. 167.
- 9 See for example J. Engels, 'Le nom de quelques manuels scolaires médiévaux', *Neophilologus*, 54 (1970), 105-12; J. J. Murphy, 'The Teaching of Latin as a Second Language in the Twelfth Century', *HL*, 7 (1980), 159-75 (p. 167); P. Riché, 'Apprendre à lire et à écrire dans le Haut Moyen Age', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, (1978-9), 193-203.

- 10 V. Leroquais, *Les Psautiers: manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de la France*, 2 vols., Macon, 1940–1, vol. 1, p. vii and pp. vii–ix for the Psalter in elementary learning; also Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 189–90 and p. 196 and Riché, 'L'enfant', pp. 294–5.
- 11 N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066–1530*, London and New York, 1984, pp. 145–6.
- 12 Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 59, also adopts the scheme alphabet, Psalter, Donatus. For Donatus see the magisterial study and edition by Holtz, *Donat*, with an edition of the *Ars minor*, pp. 585–602. For instances of its continued use see R. McKitterick, 'A ninth-century Schoolbook from the Loire Valley: Phillips MS 16308', *Scriptorium*, 30 (1976), 225–31; M. Coletti, 'Un'opera grammaticale di Remigio di Auxerre: il commento al *De barbarismo* di Donato', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 26 (1985), 951–67; G. L. Bursill-Hall, 'Medieval Donatus Commentaries', *HL*, 8 (1981), 69–97; N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, London, 1973, pp. 88–90; Ralph of Beauvais, *Glose super Donatum*, ed. C. H. Kneepkens, Nijmegen, 1982.
- 13 See Peter Damian, *Contra incontinentiam et incuriam clericorum* ('An Attack on the Ignorance and Negligence of Clerics'), *PL*, 145, cols. 497–504 (col. 497).
- 14 See Holtz, *Donat*, pp. 585–602 (p. 587).
- 15 For bibliography on the *Donats français* see B. Merilees, 'L'Art mineur français et le curriculum grammatical', *HEL*, 12 (1990), 15–29.
- 16 *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 66, which supplies further bibliography.
- 17 See for example Tony Hunt, 'Anecdota Anglo-Normannica', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 15 (1985), 1–17 (pp. 3–4).
- 18 *Disticha Catonis*, ed. M. Boas, Amsterdam, 1952, p. 35.
- 19 For the *Liber catonianus* see M. Boas, 'De librorum catonianorum historia atque compositione', *Mnemosyne*, 42 (1914), 17–46, summarised in P. M. Clogan, 'Literary Genres in a Medieval Textbook', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 11 (1982), 199–209. Its development and scholarship on it are now surveyed in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, pp. 66–79. More generally see K. Brunner, 'Sprachlehrbücher im Mittelalter', in *Language and Society: Essays presented to Arthur M. Jensen*, Copenhagen, 1961, pp. 39–43; G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, Leiden, 1970 and Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 102–6.
- 20 For an edition see R. P. H. Green, *Seven Versions of Carolingian Pastoral*, Reading, 1980, pp. 23–35; on the text see R. J. Hexter, 'Latinitas in the Middle Ages: Horizons and Perspectives', *Helios*, 14 (1987), 69–92 (pp. 78–80); R. P. H. Green, 'The Genesis of a Medieval Textbook: The Models and Sources of the *Ecloga Theodoli*', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 49–106. For a twelfth-century commentary on Theodolus see Bernard of Utrecht, *Commentum in Theodolum*, edited in R. B. C. Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores, Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau, 'Dialogus super auctores'*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 55–69. Other commentaries are surveyed by Betty Nye Quinn in *CTC*, vol. 11, Washington, 1971, pp. 383–408.
- 21 On these authors and their place in the curriculum see now Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, pp. 59–73 and Aldo D. Scaglione, 'The Classics in Medieval Education', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. Bernardo and S. Levin, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 69, Binghamton, 1990, pp. 343–62. For Statius see P. M. Clogan, *The Medieval Achilleid of Statius*, Leiden, 1968;

- for Virgil see C. Baswell, 'The Mediaeval Allegorization of the *Aeneid*', MS Cambridge, Peterhouse 158', *Traditio*, 41 (1985), 181–237, and *Lectures médiévales de Virgile*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 80, Rome, 1985; for Lucan see Berthe M. Marti, 'Literary Criticism in the Medieval Commentaries on Lucan', *TAPA*, 72 (1941), 245–54; on Lucan as historiographer see *MLTC*, p. 115. For Juvenal see William of Conches, *Glossae in Juvenalem*, ed. with an introduction by B. Wilson, Textes Philosophiques du Moyen Age, 18, Paris, 1980; serious doubts have been cast on this attribution, see the reviews by H. J. Westra in *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 18 (1983), 368–9, and B. Löfstedt in *Orpheus*, 8 (1987), 448–55; also Y.-F. Riou and C. Jeudy, 'Tradition textuelle et commentaire des auteurs classiques latins conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane', *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 22 (La Cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal vii all'xi secolo), Spoleto, 1975, pp. 179–235 (pp. 189–213 for material on Juvenal). A paper given by Ezio Ornato at the Final Symposium of the European Science Foundation network on the Classical Tradition at the Catholic University of Leuven in May 1994 confirmed the consistent popularity in the Middle Ages of these texts, if the number of surviving copies are taken as the basis of the analysis. On the moral standing of the satirist see chapter 11 below and B. Bischoff, 'Living with the Satirists', in R. R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 83–94.
- 22 For Ovid see principally R. J. Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in the Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's 'Ars amatoria', 'Epistulae ex ponto' and 'Epistulae heroidum'*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik- und Renaissance-Forschung 38, Munich, 1986; K. Young, 'Chaucer's Appeal to the Platonic Deity', *Speculum*, 19 (1944), 1–13; E. H. Alton and D. E. W. Wormell, 'Ovid in the Medieval Schoolroom', *Hermathena*, 94 (1960), 21–38 and 95 (1961), 67–82; F. Ghisalberti, 'Medieval Biographies of Ovid', *JWCI*, 9 (1946), 10–59; F. T. Coulson, 'Hitherto Unedited Medieval and Renaissance Lives of Ovid', *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), 152–207. R. Glendinning, 'Pyramus and Thisbe in the Medieval Classroom', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), 51–78 (notes on pp. 53–4) provides extensive further bibliography.
 - 23 Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, p. 270. For the *Barbarismus* see Holtz, *Donat*, pp. 136–216 for discussion and pp. 653–74 for the text, and pp. 23–4 and 122 below.
 - 24 See for example E. Pellegrin, 'La tradition des textes classiques latins à l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire', *RHT*, 14–15 (1984–85), 155–67 (p. 164): 'La poésie antique a joué un rôle important dans l'enseignement, notamment dans la grammaire'; R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, repr. Cambridge, 1973, p. 197, where Latin is learnt through the 'free imitation' of the *auctores*.
 - 25 Thus, while Rita Copeland's recent study *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge, 1991, is in most respects excellent, her insistence on calling the work of interpretation *hermeneutics* effectively conceals the fact it is part of *grammatica*.
 - 26 K. Friis-Jensen, '*Horatius lyricus et ethicus*: Two Twelfth-Century Schooltexts on Horace's Poems', *CIMAGL*, 57 (1988), 81–147 (p. 147).
 - 27 See R. M. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', *Revue bénédictine*, 85 (1975), 362–402, with additions and corrections in *Revue bénédictine*,

- 86 (1976), 327–35 and *Revue bénédictine*, 89 (1979), 131–42; Janet Martin, 'John of Salisbury as a Classical Scholar', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Wilks, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, Oxford, 1984, pp. 179–201. A good summary is provided in R. M. Thomson, 'John of Salisbury and William of Malmesbury: Currents in Twelfth-Century Humanism', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, pp. 117–25. On *litteratus* see F. H. Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 237–65; Clanchy, *From Memory* pp. 224–52; H. Grundmann, 'Litteratus-Illiteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 40 (1958), 1–65; B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Princeton, 1983, pp. 26–30.
- 28 On transmission see R. J. Tarrant, 'Horace', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds, Oxford, 1983, pp. 182–6; for Horace's medieval *fortuna* in general see M.-B. Quint, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Horaz-Rezeption*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie 39, Frankfurt, 1987. On late Antique editing of Horace see J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity*, New York, 1981, pp. 218–19.
- 29 Suetonius, *De viris illustribus*, in his *Opera*, ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1929, vol. 2, pp. 484–91; I follow G. Brugnoli, *Suetonio, Vita di Orazio*, Rome, 1967, pp. 18–23.
- 30 Brugnoli, *Vita*, pp. 20 and 22. Suetonius does deal (p. 22) with one matter of textual interest, stating that he rejected an elegy and a prose Epistle to Mecenas as the work of Horace.
- 31 The *vitae* associated with these commentaries are edited in Brugnoli, *Vita*, pp. 39–40; for the commentaries see Pomponius Porphyryon, *Commentarii in Quintum Horatium Flaccum*, ed. W. Meyer, Leipzig, 1874, and Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, ed. O. Keller, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1902–4. On these commentaries see Tarrant, 'Horace', p. 186; Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity*, pp. 168–70.
- 32 It seems to have survived only in a very mutilated form: see H. J. Botschuyver, 'Quelques remarques sur les scholies parisiennes λφψ d'Horace', *Latomus*, 3 (1939), 25–51 (p. 25).
- 33 It seems that a scholar named Acron did indeed write on Horace in the latter half of the second century and Porphyryon himself states that he drew on this work in his own commentary: see *Commentarii*, p. 231 on *Satires*, 1, 8, 25. However, the material left to us under the name of Acron seems to represent a commentary made up of successive accretions, which may not have been attributed to this Acron until the twelfth century: on this attribution (first overturned by the sixteenth-century editor of Horace, Jacob Cruquius), see O. Keller, 'Comment les scholies non-porphyriennes sur Horace ont-elles pris le nom d'Acron?', in *Mélanges Boissier*, Paris, 1903, pp. 311–14. On the nature, history and provenance of these scholia see G. Noske, *Quaestiones pseudacronae*, Munich, 1969.
- 34 However, it is true to say that until very recently scholars preferred working on these commentaries: G. Curcio, 'Commenti medio-evali ad Orazio', *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 35 (1907), 43–68 which dismisses (p. 45) several

- manuscripts of considerable importance in this study, preferring to concentrate on others which transmit the Antique material, is typical in this respect. Recent work which investigates the independent medieval commentaries includes W. Bühler, 'Die Pariser Horazscholien: eine neue Quelle der Mythographi 1 und 2', *Philologus*, 105 (1961), 123-35; M. Massaro, 'Un commento medievale inedito ad Orazio', *Atene e Roma*, n.s. 23 (1978), 190-3; K. Friis-Jensen, '*Horatius lyricus et ethicus*'.
- 35 Botschuyver argued that the first group consisted of the reformulations of a North African tradition of the text of Porphyry's commentary, probably undertaken in seventh-century Gaul at Metz or Reims: see H. J. Botschuyver, ed., *Scholia in Horatium λψ codicum parisinorum latinorum 7972, 7974, 7971*, Amsterdam, 1935, and *Scholia in Horatium πυρζ codicum parisinorum latinorum 10310 et 7973 additis nonnullis ex codicibus parisino latino 9345 et Leidensi Vossiano 21*, Amsterdam, 1939. For other versions of this commentary see H. J. Botschuyver, 'Les scholies du Suecovaticanus', *Latomus*, 5 (1941), 229-31. A second set of commentaries were claimed to be the work of the ninth-century scholar, Heiric of Auxerre; see H. J. Botschuyver, ed., *Scholia in Horatium 821 in codicibus parisinis latinis 17897 et 8223 obvia, quae ab Heirico autissoriordorensis profecta esse videntur*, Amsterdam, 1942. All of these attributions and datings are now seriously open to question. It seems that the first commentary is probably no older than 800 and that the second is contemporary with the eleventh-century manuscript in which it is first found. For a summary of these points see Friis-Jensen, '*Horatius lyricus et ethicus*', p. 82.
 - 36 In B. Munk Olsen, 'La popularité des textes classiques entre le ix^e et le xiii^e siècles', *RHT*, 14-15 (1984-5), 169-81 (pp. 176-9), he records 67 manuscripts of the *Satires*, 58 of the *Odes* and 65 of the *Epistles* which date from the twelfth century, and 65 copies of Virgil's *Aeneid*. These figures were revised upwards in a paper given by Professor Munk Olsen at a conference in Leiden, July 1993, *Medieval Book Production: The Latin Classics*, under the auspices of the Seminar in the History of Books to 1500, due to be published in 1996.
 - 37 See Christopher McDonough, 'Orpheus, Ulysses and Penelope in a Twelfth-Century Setting', *Studi medievali*, 31 (1990), 85-121 (pp. 109-21); K. Friis-Jensen, 'The *Ars poetica* in Twelfth-Century France: The Horace of Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and John of Garland', *CIMAGL*, 60 (1990), 319-88.
 - 38 Aimeric, *Ars lectoria*, ed. H. F. Reijnders in *Vivarium*, 9 (1971), 119-37, *Vivarium*, 10 (1972), 41-101 and 124-76 (p. 170); on this text see *ELLMA*, pp. 464-5.
 - 39 This text is edited in R. B. C. Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores, Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau, 'Dialogus super auctores'*, Leiden, 1970; see *Dialogus*, pp. 111-12; for translation see *MLTC*, pp. 54-5.
 - 40 *Dialogus*, p. 113-14; translated in *MLTC*, p. 56.
 - 41 It is almost a commonplace of Horace scholarship that the lyrical works were of little interest to medieval readers. Typical of this view are Tarrant, 'Horace'; Curcio, 'Commenti medio-evali ad Orazio'. However, from the evidence provided by the manuscripts I have examined, it can be stated with some certainty that the *Odes*, the *Liber epodon* and the *Carmen seculare* were widely

- glossed and a particular interest taken in the variety of their metrical forms. See the descriptions of mss Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, 7979 and London, British Library, Harley 3534 in Reynolds, 'Learning Latin', pp. 309–15 and pp. 335–42. Nequam of course recommends the entire corpus: see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 269. See also the collection of *accessūs* edited by Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores*, p. 51; translated in *MLTC*, p. 34. For thirteenth-century examples see Eberhard Bethunensis, *Laborintus*, in E. Faral, ed., *Les arts poétiques du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle*, BEPHE 138, Paris, 1924, pp. 336–77 (p. 359), and Hugo of Trimberg, *Registrum multorum auctorum* of 1280, in K. Langosch, *Das 'Registrum multorum auctorum' des Hugo von Trimberg: Untersuchungen und kommentierte Textausgabe*, Germanische Studien 235, Berlin, 1942, p. 164.
- 42 For this *accessus* question see E. A. Quain, 'The Mediaeval *Accessus ad auctores*', *Traditio*, 3 (1945), 228–42; see also *MLTC*, pp. 13–14 and the bibliography cited there.
- 43 *Accessus ad auctores*, p. 33; translated in *MLTC*, p. 24. Another commentator on Ovid remarks that the *Metamorphoses*: *ad ethicam spectat, quia omnes fere ad ethicam spectant auctores* ('it is to do with ethics, because almost all the authors are concerned with ethics'); see Young, 'Chaucer's Appeal to the Platonic Deity', pp. 7–8.
- 44 For poetry and ethics in general see principally J. B. Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction*, Toronto, 1982; P. Delhay, 'L'Enseignement de la philosophie morale au xii^e siècle', *Mediaeval Studies*, 11 (1949), 77–99.
- 45 On the nexus of terms *auctor/auctoritas* see M. D. Chenu, 'Auctor, Actor, Autor', *Bulletin Du Cange*, 3 (1926–7), 81–6. Huguccio's late twelfth-century definition is discussed in Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 10–12; there is a good survey of the relationship of ethics and authority in T. W. Machan, 'Robert Henryson and Father Aesop: Authority in the Moral Fables', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 12 (1990), 193–214.
- 46 *Titulus* was an important heading in the twelfth-century *accessus*. See R. W. Hunt, 'The Introductions to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century', in his *Collected Papers*, pp. 117–44.
- 47 On this and other twelfth-century uses of Horace see M. D. Chenu, 'Horace chez les théologiens', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 24 (1935), 462–5.
- 48 See Young, 'Chaucer's Appeal to the Platonic Deity', p. 6; Bischoff, 'Living with the Satirists', p. 90 makes the same point. For Nequam, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 269.
- 49 This point is made in Ghisalberti, 'Medieval Biographies of Ovid', p. 18.

3 READING AND THE TRIVIUM ARTS

- 1 This incomplete treatise is found in ms J, fols. 51^{ra}–79^{rb} (fol. 51^{rb}). For the manuscript see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 115–17. The Genesis comparison is probably derived from the prologue to the second

- version of William of Conches' gloss on Priscian: see Jeauneau, 'Deux rédactions des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscien', *RTAM*, 27 (1960), 212–47 (pp. 244–45). Compare also John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, 13, p. 32.
- 2 The text I use of Peter Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on IG, I–XVI is MS Paris A, kindly lent to me in rotograph form by Dr V. A. Law, checked against the edition by L. Reilly, 2 vols., Toronto, 1993 (vol. I unless otherwise stated); see MS A, fol. 1^{rb}, ed. Reilly, p. 63: *Partes huius artis sunt quatuor ... dicatur prima pars scientia de litteris, secunda de sillabis, tertia de dictionibus, quarta de oratione*. Some grammarians disagreed with this position, arguing that the *oratio* came under dialectic; see pp. 90–1 below.
 - 3 *Circa hanc artem*, MS J, fol. 51^{rb}. On the parts of grammar, and the *Circa hanc artem*, see K. M. Fredborg, 'Universal Grammar according to some Twelfth-Century Grammarians', *HL*, 7 (1980), 69–84 (pp. 73–4).
 - 4 See for example Peter Helias, *Summa*, MS A, fol. 1^{ra}, ed. Reilly, 61. Compare Thierry of Chartres' definition in his *Heptateuchon: rationes recte scribendi recteque loquendi prescribit*, cited in E. Jeauneau, 'Le Prologus in Eptateuchon de Thierry de Chartres', *Mediaeval Studies*, 16 (1954), 171–5 (p. 174).
 - 5 MS J fol. 51^{ra}. Compare Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. A. Dick, revised by J. Préaux, Stuttgart, 1978, pp. 82–3. See also *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, trans. W. H. Stahl and E. L. Burge, New York, 1977, pp. 65–6. Martianus is cited in a similar fashion in the prologue to the *Omnis traditio* Priscian commentary in MS O, fols. 34^{ra}–51^{rb} (fol. 34^{ra}). On the idea of a bad memory as a moist memory, see Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturales*, ed. M. Müller, BGPM, 31, 2, Münster, 1934, pp. 21–2.
 - 6 For personifications of grammar see R. Wittkower, 'Grammatica from Martianus Capella to Hogarth', *JWCI*, 2 (1938–9), 82–4; M. Evans, 'Allegorical Women and Practical Men: The Iconography of the *Artes* Reconsidered', in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, Oxford, 1978, pp. 305–29. There is a particularly good survey for the twelfth century in A. Katzenellenbogen, 'The Representations of the Seven Liberal Arts', in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, eds., M. Clagett, G. Post and R. Reynolds, Madison, 1966, pp. 39–55 and D. L. Wagner, ed., *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, Bloomington, 1983. Contrast John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*, p. 32 where a more maternal and nutritive aspect is emphasised: on this passage see D. D. McGarry, 'Educational Theory in the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 659–75.
 - 7 J fol. 51^{ra}.
 - 8 *Metalogicon*, I, 24, pp. 51 and 52: *De usu legendi et praelegendi et consuetudine Bernardi Carnotensis et sequacium eius*.
 - 9 For rhetoric see *De nuptiis*, pp. 210–85 (p. 218); trans. Stahl, pp. 155–214 (p. 162).
 - 10 *De nuptiis*, pp. 212–13; trans. Stahl, p. 156.
 - 11 On this library and the work of correction see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship, from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 210–33, and Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 40–6.
 - 12 The attribution of the *Tekhnē* to Dionysius the pupil of Aristarchus is followed

- by Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 266-7, and Irvine, *Textual Culture*, pp. 43-6, but is rigorously combatted in V. Di Benedetto, 'Dionisio Trace e la Technē a lui attributa', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 27 (1958), 169-210 and 28 (1959), 87-118, where it is assigned to the third or fourth century AD. D. J. Taylor, 'Dionysius Thrax vs. Marcus Varro', *HL*, 17 (1990), 15-27 argues that, although the dating of the text as it survives is unsure, it is possible on doctrinal grounds to say that it could have been written by a pupil of Aristarchus. For further discussion of the history of grammar and classical scholarship see D. van Berchem, 'Poètes et grammairiens: Recherches sur la tradition scolaire d'explication des auteurs', *Museum Helveticum*, 9 (1952), 79-87.
- 13 See Alan Kemp, 'The *Tekhnē Grammatikē* of Dionysius Thrax', in *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, ed. D.J. Taylor, ASTHLS 46, Amsterdam, 1987, pp. 169-89, with English translation of the text, pp. 172-85 (p. 172); Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 1, 58-60, in *Works*, ed. and trans. R. G. Bury, 4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1949, vol. 1, pp. 34-7.
 - 14 Irvine, *Textual Culture*, p. 45.
 - 15 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae* 1, 4, 2, ed. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., Oxford, 1970, vol. 1, p. 22.
 - 16 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae*, II, 1, 4-6, vol. 1, pp. 74-5. On this passage see Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 17 and L. Holtz, 'Grammairiens et rhéteurs en concurrence pour l'enseignement des figures de rhétorique', in *Caesarodunum*, 14bis (*Colloque sur la rhétorique*), ed. R. Chevallier, Paris, 1979, pp. 207-20 (pp. 207-9); Irvine, *Textual Culture*, pp. 54-5. For the medieval *fortuna* of this text see P. S. Boskoff, 'Quintilian in the Late Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 71-8. In fact, Quintilian himself seems to have used his description of grammar in the first book of the *Institutio oratoriae* not only to delineate but to control the extent of grammatical inquiry.
 - 17 M. Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, Liverpool, 1985, pp. 5-36. The very similar case of translation is examined in Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 21-36.
 - 18 Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, p. 42.
 - 19 Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 45-60.
 - 20 C. E. Lutz, 'One Formula of *Accessus* in Remigius's Works', *Latomus*, 19 (1960), 774-80 (pp. 775-6); E. A. Quain, 'The Mediaeval *Accessus ad auctores*', *Traditio*, 3 (1945), 215-64 and Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 66-76.
 - 21 Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 66.
 - 22 See Rémi of Auxerre, *Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. C. E. Lutz, 2 vols., Leiden, 1962-5, vol. 1, p. 65. The scheme is used with the *Odes* in ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 7979, an early twelfth-century Horace with Occitan glosses.
 - 23 On these prologues see R. W. Hunt, 'The Introductions to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century', in his *Collected Papers*, pp. 117-44; A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, second edition, Aldershot, 1988, pp. 18-28; *MLTC*, pp. 12-15 and the collections of *accessus* edited in R. B. C. Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores: Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau, Dialogus super Auctores*, Leiden, 1970: for translations see *MLTC*, pp. 15-36.

- 24 See Holtz, 'Grammairiens et rhéteurs', p. 207 and J. J. Murphy, 'Topos and Figura: Historical Cause and Effect?', in *De ortu grammaticae*, eds. G. L. Bursill-Hall, S. Ebbesen, and K. Koerner, ASTHLS 43, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 239–53. For the Greek tradition see T. Conley, 'Byzantine Teaching on Figures and Tropes: An Introduction', *Rhetorica*, 4 (1986), 335–74.
- 25 See M. Baratin, *La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome*, Paris, 1989, pp. 262–322 and 429–57; M. Baratin and F. Desbordes, 'La "troisième partie" de l'*Arsgrammatica*', in *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, pp. 41–66 (pp. 42–52 and 59–60); Holtz, 'Grammairiens et rhéteurs', pp. 210–15, and Donat, pp. 163–9. See for example *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, xii, 17, ed. and trans. H. Caplan, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, pp. 268–71; *Institutio oratoria*, I, 5, 5–54, pp. 29–37 and I, 4, 2, p. 22.
- 26 'La "troisième partie"', p. 48.
- 27 On this development see 'La "troisième partie"', pp. 41–4. This paradoxical situation is examined in R. A. Kaster, *The Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1988, pp. 175–95.
- 28 *Barbarismus*, p. 667; compare *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxi, 42, p. 332: *Nam earum omnium hoc proprium est, ut ab usitata verborum potestate recedatur atque in aliam rationem cum quadam venustate oratio conferatur* ('they indeed all have this in common, that the language departs from the ordinary meaning of the words, and is, with a certain grace, applied in another sense').
- 29 *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxi, 42–xxxiii, 46, pp. 332–46, where the term trope is latinised into *exornatio verborum* and the names of the tropes are also latinised, for example, *denominatio* for metonymy: *Institutio oratoria*, VIII, 6, 1, vol. 2, p. 462; the *Barbarismus* uses the Greek terms.
- 30 A third category of figurative types did not form part of the grammatical tradition. These *schemata dianoeas*, or figures of thought, were clearly stated by Donatus to belong to the sphere of rhetoric: *ad oratores pertinent: Barbarismus*, p. 663. They are treated in the *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxv, 47–lv, 69, pp. 346–409 as part of *elocutio*. Again the anonymous author latinises, calling the *schemata* 'exornationes sententiarum' and translating each term, for example, *conformatio* for *prosopopeia*. See Holtz, 'Grammairiens et rhéteurs', p. 214. In distinction to the figures of language and the tropes, the figures of thought operate at the level of the argumentative strategy of the text as a whole.
- 31 See Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 63–86. A very clear explanation of the intersection of expository and rhetorical activity in Antiquity is found in Kathy Eden, 'Hermeneutics and the Ancient Rhetorical Tradition', *Rhetorica*, 5 (1987), 59–86; see also J. Pépin, 'L'Herméneutique ancienne: les mots et les idées', *Poétique*, 23 (1975), 291–300.
- 32 M. Coletti, 'Un'opera grammaticale di Remigio di Auxerre: il commento al 'De barbarismo' di Donato', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 26 (1985), 951–67, with text edited pp. 952–67; Robert Kilwardby O. P., *In Donati artem maiorem iii*, ed. L. Schmucker, Bressanone, 1984; for the commentary tradition in general see G. L. Bursill-Hall, 'Medieval Donatus Commentaries', *HL*, 8 (1981), 69–97.
- 33 Isidore de Seville, *Libri etymologiarum sive originum* (henceforth *Etymologiae*), ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols., repr. Oxford, 1985, vol. I, I, xxxvii, 1–35.

- 34 Bede, *Opera didascalica*, vol. I, ed. H. M. King, CCSL 123A, Turnhout, 1985, 'De arte metrica', pp. 81–141 and 'De schematibus et tropis', pp. 142–71: on this treatise see M. Irvine, 'Bede the Grammarian and the Scope of Grammatical Studies in eighth-century Northumbria', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 15–44.
- 35 See K. M. Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, Studies and Texts 64, Toronto, 1988 (henceforth *Commentaries by Thierry*): on the commentary by 'Alanus' see H. Caplan, 'A Medieval Commentary on the *Ad Herennium*', in his *Of Eloquence*, eds. A. King and H. North, Ithaca, 1970, pp. 247–70. On the *Ad Herennium* in the Middle Ages see J. Bliese, 'The Study of Rhetoric in the Twelfth Century', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 63 (1977), 364–83 (pp. 372–4) and M. Camargo, 'Rhetoric', in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. L. Wagner, Bloomington, 1983, pp. 96–124 (pp. 105–7).
- 36 Diomedes, *Ars grammatica* in *GL*, I, pp. 300–529 (pp. 426–7). Compare Marius Victorinus, *Ars grammatica*, in *GL*, IV, pp. 3–184 (p. 3) for the same contrast of *enarrare* and *definire*. For Diomedes see Baratin, *La naissance*, pp. 298–302. This definition is closely followed by the early eight-century *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*: see Irvine, 'Bede the Grammarian', pp. 43–4, and *Textual Culture*, pp. 280–98.
- 37 For the increasing dominance of Priscian from this date see M. T. Gibson, 'Milestones in the Study of Priscian c. 800–c.1200', *Viator*, 23 (1992), 17–33 (pp. 18–19); V. A. Law, 'Late Latin Grammars in the Early Middle Ages: A Typological History', in *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, pp. 191–206 (pp. 196–8).
- 38 Priscian, *IG*, I–XII in *GL*, II and XIII–XVIII in *GL*, III, pp. 1–384. The best study of this text is found in Baratin, *La naissance*, pp. 367–485. For the development of grammar as the study of a foreign language see V. A. Law, 'The First Foreign Language Grammars', *The Incorporated Linguist*, 23 (1984), 211–16.
- 39 On this see Mary Sirridge, 'Figurative Constructions and the Limits of Grammar', in *De ortu grammaticae*, pp. 321–32 (p. 328).
- 40 Priscian's medieval *fortuna* is now admirably summarised in Gibson, 'Milestones'; for manuscripts see Gibson, 'Priscian *Institutiones grammaticae*: a handlist of manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 26 (1972), 105–24; M. Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, Sussidi Eruditi, 29, Rome, 1978, with additional material in C. Jeudy, 'Complément à un catalogue récent des manuscrits de Priscien', *Scriptorium*, 36 (1982), 313–25; G. Ballaira, *Per il catalogo dei codici di Prisciano*, Turin, 1982. On the correctness of the *auctores* see E. Jeaneau, 'Nains et géants', in *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du 12e siècle*, eds. M. de Gandillac and E. Jeaneau, Paris, 1968, pp. 21–52 (p. 50); B. Bischoff, 'Living with the Satirists', in Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences*, pp. 83–94 (p. 84).
- 41 Bede, 'De schematibus et tropis', pp. 142–71.
- 42 G. R. Evans, 'The Use of Biblical Examples in Ralph of Beauvais' Commentary on Donatus', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 24 (1983), 371–72. More generally see R. H. Robins, 'Theory-orientation versus Data-orientation: A Recurrent Theme in Linguistics', *HL*, 1 (1973), 11–26 (p. 16) and I. Rosier, 'Le traitement spéculatif des constructions figurées au xiii^e siècle', in *L'Héritage*, pp. 181–204 (pp. 201–2).
- 43 The best short summary of twelfth-century *grammatica* is K. M. Fredborg,

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- 'Speculative Grammar', in *HTCWP*, pp. 177–95; see also the references in the notes which follow.
- 44 See R. W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries I: Petrus Helias and his predecessors', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 1–38; M. T. Gibson, 'The Early Scholastic *Glosule* to Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*: the text and its influence', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 20 (1979), 235–54; K. M. Fredborg, 'Tractatus glosarum Prisciani in MS Vat. lat. 1486', *CIMAGL*, 21 (1977), 21–44.
 - 45 On William see Dorothy Elford, 'William of Conches', in *HTCWP*, pp. 308–27.
 - 46 William's commentary exists in two versions, one from the 1120s on *IG*, I–xvi, the other from the 1140s on *IG*, I–xviii; see E. Jeaneau, 'Deux rédactions', where the prologue only is edited (pp. 243–47). Throughout the book I use the second version of the commentary preserved in Ms W.
 - 47 The emphasis on causes was one of the great innovations in twelfth-century science in general: see C. S. F. Burnett, 'Scientific Speculations', in *HTCWP*, pp. 151–76.
 - 48 See K. M. Fredborg, 'The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*', *CIMAGL*, 11 (1973), 1–57.
 - 49 J. E. Tolson, 'Summa super Priscianum Constructionum', *CIMAGL*, 27–8 (1978), 1–210. I use this edition for the *Summa* on *IG*, xvii–xviii. For Virgil see p. 45, for Persius p. 8, for Juvenal p. 32, for Horace p. 147 and p. 150 and for St Paul p. 51. As doctrinal reinforcement, Helias uses Priscian and Donatus constantly and Boethius' *De trinitate* (p. 66) and his commentary on *De interpretatione* of Aristotle (p. 31).
 - 50 These comments are based on the anonymous text in K. M. Fredborg and C. H. Kneepkens, 'Grammatica porretana', *CIMAGL*, 57 (1988), 11–67. For Gilbert and his followers, known as the Porretani, see J. Marenbon, 'Gilbert of Poitiers', in *HTCWP*, pp. 328–52 and 'A note on the Porretani', pp. 353–7 of the same volume; L. Nielsen, 'On the Doctrine of Logic and Language of Gilbert Porreta and his Followers', *CIMAGL*, 17 (1976), 40–69, and in general M. D. Chenu, 'Grammaire et théologie', *AHDLMA*, 10 (1935–6), 5–28.
 - 51 See C. H. Kneepkens, *HIC*, vol. I for discussion of this trend, vol. II for an edition of Robert of Paris, *Breve sit*, vol. III for an edition of Robert Blund, *Summa in arte grammatica* and vol. IV for the *Absoluta* of Peter Hispanus. For the last text see also R. W. Hunt, 'Absoluta: The Summa of Petrus Hispanus on Priscianus minor', *HL*, 2 (1975), 1–23.
 - 52 See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II: The school of Ralph of Beauvais', in *Collected Papers*, pp. 39–94.
 - 53 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–52.
 - 54 B fols. 111^{ra}–119^{va}; now edited by C. H. Kneepkens, Nijmegen, 1991. The *Verba preceptiva*, a text associated with Ralph, is also found in MS B, fols. 120^{ra}–123^{va}. I would like to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library for their kind permission in allowing me to consult R. W. Hunt's transcriptions of the *Verba preceptiva*, *Liber Tytan* and of the *Promisimus* commentary on Priscian, preserved in MS L, fols. 20^r–88^v. For a more detailed explanation of the function of the examples in these texts, see chapter 7 below, pp. 92–4.

- 55 There is a good survey of this subject in Bliese, 'The Study of Rhetoric' and Camargo, 'Rhetoric'. For Nequam see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, 271; for Thierry see G. R. Evans, 'The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres', *History of Universities*, 3 (1983), 1–13 (p. 7). There is not space here to explore two of the most important genres in medieval rhetoric, the arts of preaching (*artes predicandi*) and the arts of letter writing (*artes dictaminis*); for introduction and further bibliography see J. J. Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric: A Select Bibliography*, second edition, London and Toronto, 1989.
- 56 See *Commentaries by Thierry*. Peter's commentary is unpublished; see K. M. Fredborg, 'Petrus Helias on Rhetoric', *CIMAGL*, 13 (1974), 31–41. The 'Alanus' commentary is discussed in Caplan, 'A Medieval Commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', in *Of Eloquence*, pp. 247–70.
- 57 For the institutional relationships of the two arts see L. J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, Champaign, 1910, and J. J. Murphy, 'Literary Implications of Instruction in the Verbal Arts in Fourteenth-Century England', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 1 (1967), 119–35.
- 58 E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle*, BEPHE 138, Paris, 1924; *Laborintus*, pp. 336–72; *Poetria nova*, pp. 193–262; *Documentum*, pp. 262–320; K. Friis-Jensen, 'The *Ars poetica* in Twelfth-Century France: The Horace of Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and John of Garland', *CIMAGL*, 60 (1990), 319–88, argues that these texts, and Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, are dependent on the so-called *Materia* commentary on Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Eberhard of Béthune, *Grecismus*, ed. J. Wrobel, *Corpus grammaticorum medii aevi* 1, Bratislava, 1887. On the *Grecismus* see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, 94–8. On the *fortuna* and commentary tradition of the *Poetria nova* see M. C. Woods, *An Early Commentary on the 'Poetria nova' of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, New York, 1985; Woods, 'Classical Examples and References in Medieval Lectures on Poetic Composition', *Allegorica*, 10 (1989), 3–12.
- 59 Alexander of Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, ed. D. Reichling, repr. New York, 1974; on this text see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, 84–94. Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria*, in *Opera*, ed. F. Munari, 3 vols., Rome, 1977–88, vol. III. On the position of the *artes poetriae* with regard to the trivium arts see E. Gallo, 'Matthew of Vendôme: Introductory Treatise on the Art of Poetry', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 118 (1974), 51–92 (pp. 51–2); Gallo, 'The *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf', in *Medieval Eloquence*, ed. J. J. Murphy, London 1978, pp. 68–84 (p. 72); Camargo, 'Rhetoric', p. 107 and J. A. Schultz, 'Classical Rhetoric, Medieval Poetics and the Medieval Vernacular Prologue', *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 1–15 (pp. 3–4).
- 60 On this strategy see D. Kelly, 'The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Arts of Poetry', *Speculum*, 41 (1966), 261–78 (pp. 267–8).
- 61 Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 2: this idea underwrites much of Copeland's discussion, see in particular pp. 55–66. For the Middle Ages see further P. Bagni, 'Grammatica e Retorica nella Cultura Medievale', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1984), 267–80 and Z. G. Barański, 'Dante's (Anti-) Rhetoric: Notes on the Poetics of the

- Commedia*', in *Moving in Measure; Essays in Honour of Brian Moloney*, eds. J. Bryce and D. Thompson, Hull 1989, pp. 1–14 (pp. 2–3).
- 62 Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* has recently been studied in the light of this tension, but, apart from Martin Irvine's investigations of the earlier Middle Ages, the lengthy tradition of grammatical exegesis on literary texts remains largely uninvestigated; see Kaster, *Guardians of Language*, pp. 176–97.
- 63 On the author–compiler distinction see A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, second edition, Aldershot, 1988, pp. 94–103.
- 64 See Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 224–52 and 270–2.
- 65 The same idea of written remains as only the traces of pedagogic practice is used in Constant J. Mews, 'Orality, Literacy and Authority in the Twelfth-Century Schools', *Exemplaria*, 2 (1990), 475–500. This shift in reading is part of the expansion of education in the twelfth century, particularly because of the development of cathedral schools: see G. R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 8–37; K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages: A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century*, second edition, Manchester, 1967, pp. 185–205; Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 167–93. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', p. 363, makes the same point about this shift.
- 66 MS L fol. 21^{ra}. A similar link between glossing and pedagogical speech is made by William of Conches in his commentaries on Priscian (c. 1120, revised c. 1140) and Plato; see E. Jeuneau, 'Gloses et commentaires de textes philosophiques (ixe–xiie siècles)', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales; définition, critique et exploitation*, Actes du Colloque International de Louvain-la-Neuve, Louvain, 1982, pp. 117–31 (p. 117).
- 67 Very few wax tablets survive, none from a classroom context; for the most recent survey and further reading see Elisabeth Lalou, 'Les tablettes de cire médiévales', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 147 (1989), 123–40. See G. R. Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library MS Gg. 5 35*, Studies and Texts 61, Toronto, 1983, pp. 169–81. In later periods, student glossing does survive: see the important study by Anthony Grafton, 'Teacher, Text and Pupil', p. 38.
- 68 These and other examples are discussed in P. Riché, 'Le rôle de la mémoire dans l'enseignement médiéval', in B. Roy and P. Zumthor, eds., *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, Montreal and Paris, 1985, pp. 133–48; for memory as a *tabula* to be inscribed see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 16–32.
- 69 Grafton, 'Teacher, Text and Pupil', p. 38.
- 70 On the lexicographic and bilingual trends see G. R. Wieland, 'Latin Lemma – Latin Gloss: the Stepchild of Glossologists', *Mittelaltersches Jahrbuch*, 19 (1984), 91–9 and the bibliography cited there.
- 71 A. Schwarz, 'Glossen als Texte', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 99 (1977), 25–36. The philological monopoly had already been dealt a blow by Fred C. Robinson's 1973 article on syntactic glosses (construe marks), but in that study, the hold of the vernacular was strong and Robinson

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- argued that syntax glosses are the key to establishing 'normal word order' in Anglo-Saxon: Fred C. Robinson, 'Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 443–75 (pp. 470–75). His findings were much modified by M. Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und Altenglische Wortstellung', *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 18–58.
- 72 Schwarz, 'Glossen als Texte', pp. 28–30.
 - 73 For Otfrid's German version of the Gospel and its Latin preface see *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, ed. O. Erdmann, Tübingen, 1965.
 - 74 Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, pp. 30–3.
 - 75 Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, pp. 35–9.
 - 76 Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, pp. 16–25 for prosodic, pp. 26–46 for lexical, pp. 47–97 for grammatical, pp. 98–146 for syntactical and pp. 147–89 for commentary glosses.
 - 77 *Scholia*, vol. II, pp. 196–8.
 - 78 MS reads *indecenter*.
 - 79 There is a gloss *mus faicinat* on this line, but I am unable to comment further on it.
 - 80 Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 339 makes a cross-reference to S, II, 2, 41, where the same wind is mentioned.
 - 81 The gloss continues: *quasi buhet vel egra[...] a loco*. This may be the English equivalent, 'buket' with the suggestion that this is an appropriate receptacle for the dregs. I cannot decipher the fourth word, but it is clear that the glossator is suggesting another derivation from a place-name.
 - 82 *Summa*, ed. Reilly, p. 439.

4 ORIGINS AND MYTHOLOGIES: THE INVENTION OF LANGUAGE AND MEANING

- 1 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, selected and translated by Annette Lavers, London, 1972, p. 129.
- 2 See Bernard G. Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', in *CHLMP*, pp. 45–79. For the history of the *De interpretatione* in the West see J. Isaac, *Le 'Peri Hermeneias' en Occident de Boèce à Saint Thomas: Histoire Littéraire d'un traité d'Aristote*, Bibliothèque Thomiste 29, Paris, 1953. The editions used in this chapter are as follows: for Boethius' translation see *De interpretatione vel Periermenias*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, Aristoteles Latinus II, 1–2, Bruges-Paris, 1965, pp. 5–38; for Boethius' commentaries see Boethius, *Commentarii in librum Aristotelis Peri épurvías*, ed. Carl Meiser, Leipzig, 1877.
- 3 Adelard of Bath, *De eodem et diverso*, ed. H. Willner, BGPM 4, Münster, 1903, pp. 17–19. For Adelard see the collection of essays in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. C. S. F. Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 14, London, 1987, and Jean Jolivet, 'The Arabic Inheritance' in *HTCWP*, pp. 113–48 (pp. 133–4).
- 4 See C. S. F. Burnett, 'The Writings of Adelard of Bath and Closely Associated Works, Together with the Manuscripts in which they occur', in *Adelard of Bath*, pp. 163–200 (pp. 168 and 188).
- 5 See for example H. Roos, 'Die Stellung der Grammatik im Lehrbetrieb des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *Artes liberales von der antiken Bildung zur Wissenschaft des*

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- Mittelalters*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 5, ed. J. Koch, Leiden, 1959, pp. 94–106 (p. 94).
- 6 Adelard, *De eodem*, p. 18. I am extremely grateful to Charles Burnett for helpful discussion of this text and its translation.
- 7 *De interpretatione*, 1, 2, p. 6. In this context, *pars* refers to any section of the word, beginning, middle or ending, taken in isolation. The point of this element in the definition of the noun is to reinforce the notion that the *minimal* unit of meaning in language is the word; parts of words are not to be considered significant in themselves.
- 8 For an excellent survey of the history of these distinctions in medieval thought, see U. Eco, R. Lambertini, C. Marmo and A. Tabarroni, 'On Animal Language in the Medieval Classification of Signs', in *On the Medieval Theory of Signs*, Foundations of Semiotics 21, eds. U. Eco and C. Marmo, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 3–41 (pp. 7–8 for Boethius).
- 9 For Abelard's commentary see 'Die Glossen zu *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας*', Heft 3 (1927), pp. 307–503 in *Peter Abaelards Philosophische Schriften*, ed. B. Geyer, BGPM 21, Münster, 1919–33. For further bibliography on Abelard's commentaries see Charles Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors: Narcissus – Richardus', *Traditio*, 28 (1972), 281–396 (pp. 325–9).
- 10 Geyer, 'Die Glossen', p. 335; see also the gloss on *secundum placitum*, pp. 340–1, and the *Dialectica*, ed. L. M. De Rijk, second edition, Assen, 1970, pp. 114–15; on Abelard's distinction see Eco et al., 'On Animal Language', pp. 15–17.
- 11 Boethius, *Commentarii*, p. 46.
- 12 Boethius, *Commentarii*, p. 55. For an examination of the differences between the two commentaries see Isaac, *Le 'Peri Hermeneias'*, p. 20.
- 13 See K. M. Fredborg, 'The Dependence of Peter Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*', *CIMAGL*, 11 (1973), 1–57 (pp. 14–15). For an excellent discussion of overlaps between grammar and logic in early twelfth-century semantics, see Martin M. Tweedale, 'Logic (i): From the Late Eleventh Century to the Time of Abelard', in *HTCWP*, pp. 196–226 (p. 211 for the *prima impositio*). On the question of linguistic origins see R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages*, Chicago and London, 1983, pp. 40–5.
- 14 Adelard, *De eodem*, p. 1.
- 15 On this passage see G. Steiner, *After Babel*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 57–61.
- 16 See R. W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries I: Petrus Helias and his predecessors', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 1–38 (p. 19).
- 17 Boethius, *Commentarii*, pp. 46–7. There is an extended discussion in the second commentary, pp. 55–57.
- 18 Adelard, *De eodem*, p. 19.
- 19 S. Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: les intellectuels et la langue française aux xiii^e et xiv^e siècles*, Paris-Montreal, 1986, pp. 51–3 and Zygmunt G. Barański, 'Dante's Biblical Linguistics', *Lectura Dantis*, 5 (1989), 105–43, both with extensive further bibliography. See notably A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel*, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1957–63, vol. II, ii. On the nature/convention debate, see Bloch, *Etymologies*, pp. 45–50.

- 20 For the pluri-lingual context of learning Latin see B. Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 209–24; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 197–223; Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 11–18; Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement*, pp. 15–47; W. Rothwell, 'The Teaching of French in Medieval England', *MLR*, 63 (1968), 37–46; Ian Short, 'On Bi-Lingualism in Anglo-Norman England', *RPh*, 33 (1980), 467–79; Philippe Wolff, *Les origines linguistiques de l'Europe Occidentale*, second edition, Toulouse, 1982, pp. 102–9.
- 21 See Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 12.
- 22 For William and Peter on *cause* see Fredborg, 'The Dependence', pp. 12–14. For the importance of *cause* in twelfth-century science in general, see C. S. F. Burnett, 'Scientific Speculations', in *HTCWP*, pp. 151–76.
- 23 See Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 13. For the close relationship of the *prima impositio* and the *causa inventionis*, see K. M. Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', *HTCWP*, pp. 175–95 (p. 183). For William of Conches' doctrines see K. M. Fredborg, 'Some Notes on the Grammar of William of Conches', *CIMAGL*, 37 (1981), 21–41. It is important to note that Priscian discussed the *vox* in the *Institutiones* (*IG* 1, 1–2; *GL*, II, pp. 5–6), but adopted a very different classification from the Aristotelian tradition, adopting instead a taxonomy based on whether a *vox* could be written or not, and understood or not. Aquinas attempted to fuse Priscian's classification with that of Boethius. These developments are summarised in Eco et al., 'On Animal Language', pp. 10–13.
- 24 For the substitution of *intellectus* in the Priscian commentaries known as the *Promisimus* and the *Tria sunt* see R. W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II: The school of Ralph of Beauvais', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 39–94 (pp. 70–1).
- 25 Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, in MS A, fol. 15^{vb}; ed. Reilly, vol. 1, p. 177. True to the increasing interest in syntax in the second half of the century, later grammarians often express the *prima impositio* in terms of *orationes*: see Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', p. 70.
- 26 See pp. 81–7 below.
- 27 Adelard, *De eodem*, p. 18.
- 28 For surveys of the debate see Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', pp. 183–5 (grammatical texts) and Tweedale, 'Logic', pp. 212–14 (logical texts). It is also discussed by Abelard in his *Dialectica*, p. 113.
- 29 See Fredborg, 'The Dependence', pp. 15–18, and, 'Speculative Grammar', pp. 183–6. For similar developments in the logical tradition see M. Tweedale, 'Abelard and the Culmination of the Old Logic', in *CHLMP*, pp. 143–57 (pp. 148–50), and Klaus Jacobi, 'Logic (ii): The Later Twelfth Century', in *HTCWP*, pp. 227–51 (pp. 247–8). For surveys of medieval theories of and terminologies for signification and denotation see U. Eco, 'Denotation', in *The Medieval Theory of Signs*, pp. 43–79, and L. M. De Rijk, 'The Origins of the Theory of the Properties of Terms', in *CHLMP*, pp. 161–73.
- 30 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 18 and I. Rosier, 'Évolutions des notions d'*equivocatio* et *univocatio* au xiie siècle', in *L'ambiguïté: cinq études historiques*, ed. I. Rosier, Lille, 1988, pp. 103–166.

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- 31 Boethius, *Commentarii*, p. 48.
- 32 John of Garland, *Opus synonymorum*, *PL*, 150, cols. 1578–90 (col. 1577).
- 33 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', pp. 18–20.
- 34 Peter Helias, *Summa*, MS A, fol. 18^{ra} and fol. 18^{va}; ed. Reilly p. 192 and p. 196.
- 35 See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', pp. 45–6, and I. Rosier, 'Les parties du discours aux confins du xii^e siècle', *Langages*, 92 (1988), 37–49 (p. 42).
- 36 See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries I', p. 19. For further investigation of *proprium* see Bloch, *Etymologies*, pp. 52–3.
- 37 Priscian, *IG*, II, 18 (*GL*, II, p. 55): *Proprium est nominis significare substantiam; Glosule: significat illam substantiam ad quam designandum est inventum*: see Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 15.
- 38 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 22.
- 39 See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries I', pp. 20–1; Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', p. 71, and Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', p. 43.
- 40 Peter Helias, *Summa*, MS A, fol. 15^{vb}: *communis causa inventionis omnium dictionum ... causa[m] inventionis cuiusque partis orationis* ('the *causa inventionis* common to all parts of speech ... the *causa inventionis* of each and every part of speech'); ed. Reilly, p. 177.
- 41 The confusion of the two registers was considered a common source of grammatical incongruity: see S. Ebbesen, 'The Present King of France wears Hypothetical Shoes with Categorical Laces: Twelfth-century writers on Well-Formedness', *Medioevo*, 7 (1981), 91–113.
- 42 Adelard, *De eodem*, p. 18.
- 43 This idea is discussed in relation to Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Diadascalicon*, in Jesse M. Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology and Fiction*, Ithaca and London, 1985, pp. 9–102.
- 44 *Contingit autem aliquando ipsam vocem quasi sui ipsius nomen accipi et tunc eam significativam <sui> esse, veluti si dicatur: homo est nomen*: see Geyer, 'Die Glossen', p. 336.
- 45 Adelard, *De eodem*, p. 19. For the comparable doctrine of first and second impositions held by William Ockham see Christian Knudsen, 'Intentions and Impositions', in *CHLMP*, pp. 479–95 (pp. 492–3).
- 46 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 21.
- 47 *Summa*, MS A, fol. 18^{ra}: *Ut cum dicitur 'hoc est nomen "homo"'. Hic enim de homine non loquimur, sed potius de hoc nomine 'homo' et hoc antiqui appellabant materiale impositum ... Materiale impositum est vox representans se ipsam, idest imposita ad loquendum de se ipsa* ('as when it is said, "this is the noun *homo*". Here indeed, we do not speak of a man but rather of that noun *homo*, and this our predecessors called the material imposition. The material imposition is a *vox* representing itself, that is imposed for the purpose of speaking of itself'); ed. Reilly, p. 193.
- 48 For a helpful survey of these different types of signification in tabular form see Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', pp. 184–5.
- 49 *De interpretatione*, I, 1–3, pp. 5–7.
- 50 For the role of Greek see F. Desbordes, 'La fonction du grec chez les grammairiens latins', in *L'Héritage*, 15–26. For the tradition of the *partes*

- orationis* see the important collection of articles in the journal *Langages*, 92 (1988). See also J. Brunschwig, 'Remarques sur la théorie stoïcienne du nom propre', *HEL*, 5, i (1983), 3–19; F. Charpin, 'La notion de partie de discours chez les grammairiens latins', *HEL*, 8, i (1986), 131–7; Jean Lallot, 'L'ordre de la langue: Observations sur la théorie grammaticale d'Apollonius Dyscole', in *PLGA*, pp. 413–26; I. Rosier and J. Stéfanini, 'Théories médiévales du pronom et du nom général', in G. L. Bursill-Hall, S. Ebbesen and K. Koerner, eds., *De ortu grammaticae*, ASTHLS 43, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 285–303; Ch. Thurot, *Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Age*, Notices et Extraits 22, 2, Paris, 1869, pp. 79–81 and 146–87.
- 51 Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', p. 42 and Thurot, *Extraits*, pp. 149 and 155.
- 52 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', pp. 23 and 26–27; Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', p. 42.
- 53 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 22.
- 54 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 31. See also F. P. Dineen, '*Distinguo* – *modi significandi* and covert case roles', in K. Koerner, H.-J. Niederehe and R. H. Robins, eds., *Studies in Medieval Linguistic Thought*, ASTHLS 26, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 39–52. For Modistic theories see I. Rosier, 'La notion de partie du discours dans la grammaire spéculative', *HEL*, 3, i (1981), 49–62.
- 55 MS A, fol. 16^{rb} and fol. 16^{va}; ed. Reilly, p. 182; see also Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', p. 39.
- 56 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 12.
- 57 See Dineen, '*Distinguo*', p. 40; Fredborg, 'The Dependence', pp. 28, 32 and 44; Dineen, 'Speculative Grammar', p. 182; Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', pp. 42–3; Thurot, *Extraits*, pp. 155 and 182.
- 58 See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', p. 73, and Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', pp. 47–8.
- 59 *De interpretatione*, 1, 3, p. 7 (verb) and 1, 2, p. 6 (noun); Abelard criticised this atemporal view of the noun forcibly; see Geyer, 'Die Glossen', pp. 344–5 and Klaus Jacobi, 'Die Semantik sprachlicher Ausdrücke, Ausdrucksfolgen und Aussagen in Abailards Kommentar zu *Peri Hermeneias*', *Medioevo*, 7 (1981), 41–89 (pp. 76–81).
- 60 Fredborg, 'The Dependence', p. 32; Rosier, 'Les parties du discours', p. 43; Thurot, *Extraits*, p. 182.
- 61 See G. Moignet, 'Sur le système de la flexion à deux cas de l'ancien français', in *Mélanges Mgr. Pierre Gardette* (Strasbourg 1966), 339–56; Moignet, *Grammaire de l'ancien français: morphologie, syntaxe*, Paris, 1973, pp. 13–51.
- 62 See Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', p. 183; Abelard, *Dialectica*, p. 122. For Aristotle too, only the nominative was the 'true' form of the noun, see *De interpretatione*, 1, 2, p. 6: the Stoics however saw it on equal footing with the other cases. See Brunschwig, 'Remarques sur la théorie stoïcienne du nom propre'.

5 READING WORD BY WORD I: THE ROLE OF THE VERNACULAR

- 1 See Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 12–17 and the magisterial survey in M. Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur*

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- mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1979, pp. 35–104.
- 2 See M. T. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and Richard W. Pfaff, eds., *The Eadwine Psalter; Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, Publications of the MHRA 14, London and University Park, 1992, p. 213.
 - 3 This is the verdict of Patrick P. O'Neill in Gibson et al. eds., *The Eadwine Psalter*, p. 137.
 - 4 Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 197; see pp. 197–223 for an excellent survey of these issues.
 - 5 Alexander of Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, p. 7. For an excellent introduction to and bibliography for, this text, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 84–94.
 - 6 Reference to relevant studies will occur throughout this chapter. For the sources of glosses see V. A. Law, 'The Latin and Old English Glosses in the *ars Tatwini*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 77–89.
 - 7 Compare the argument in G. R. Wieland, 'Latin Lemma – Latin Gloss: the Stepchild of Glossologists', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 19 (1984), 91–9.
 - 8 In other words, I shall attempt to answer some of the questions posed by Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 17.
 - 9 See A. Scheler, *Lexicographie latine du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle: Trois traités de Jean de Garlande, Alexandre Neckam et Adam du Petit-Pont, publiés avec les gloses françaises*, Leipzig, 1867. On these texts see now Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, vol. 1, pp. 165–203, with new editions based on thirteenth-century English manuscripts. For glosses on such texts see T. Hunt, 'Les gloses en langue vulgaire dans les manuscrits de l'*Unum omnium* de Jean de Garlande', *Revue de linguistique romane*, 43 (1979), 162–78; Hunt, 'Les gloses en langue vulgaire dans les manuscrits du *De nominibus utensilium* d'Alexandre Nequam', *Revue de linguistique romane*, 43 (1979), 235–62; Hunt, 'Vernacular Glosses in Medieval Manuscripts', *Cultura neo-latina*, 39 (1979), 9–37.
 - 10 Cited in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 168; for the transmission and glossing of this text, see pp. 164–71, with text pp. 171–6. For vernacular glosses see vol. II, pp. 37–62.
 - 11 Cited in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. I, p. 178; for transmission and glossing see pp. 177–81, with text from a Bury St. Edmunds manuscript, pp. 181–9. Vernacular glosses are recorded in vol. II, pp. 65–122.
 - 12 Augusto Marinoni, 'Du glossaire au dictionnaire', *Quadrivium*, 9 (1968), 127–41, a study to which I am particularly indebted in this chapter.
 - 13 See Joachim Du Bellay, *La Defense et Illustration de la langue française*, ed. L. Hubert, Paris, 1930, pp. 51–3.
 - 14 Compare the very similar conclusions in A. Rousseau, 'Reflexions sur la nature et la fonction des gloses et des traductions en vieux-haut allemand', in *Littérature et société au Moyen Age*, ed. D. Buschinger, Actes du Colloque des 5 et 6 mai au Centre d'Études médiévales de l'Université de Picardie, Paris, 1978, pp. 353–70.
 - 15 These manuscripts were selected on account of the variety and sustained nature of their glossing. The examples are drawn from an initial corpus of over three-hundred gloss-lemma pairs from these and other manuscripts. For full description of the Peterhouse MS see Suzanne Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace: Using the Classics in the Medieval Classroom', forthcoming in *Medieval Book Production*:

- The Latin Classics*, eds. L. Brownrigg and Cl. Chavanne-Mazel (Anderson-Lovelace); for the Vatican MS see Buonocore, *Codices horatiani*, pp. 153–5 with plates on pp. 335–7. The vernacular glosses from Peterhouse 229 are listed in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 64.
- 16 S, II, 3, 144: c fol. 52^r: p. 221. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. II, p. 47 records two similar glosses on Adam of Petit Pont's *De utensilibus*.
 - 17 S, I, 6, 118: c fol. 45^v: *hic guttus platel, a campania guttus dicitur*. R fol. 71^r: *vas*. The R glossator considers this usage to be figurative (*continens pro contento*): see the discussion p. 129 below.
 - 18 S, II, 8, 8: c fol. 58^v and R fol. 90^v: p. 247. See T. Hunt, *The Plant Names of Medieval England*, Cambridge 1989, p. 219 *sub* 'raphanus': *gallice raiz, anglie radiche* etc. In his *De naturis rerum*, Alexander Nequam asserts *quod raphanum greci, nos radicem vocamus*: see *De naturis rerum et De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. T. Wright, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 34, London, 1857, p. 166. For this text, which was widely diffused in England, see Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister*, pp. 125 and 134–6.
 - 19 S, II, 8, 8: c fol. 58^v: p. 247 and S, II, 2, 43: c fol. 49^v: p. 212. See Hunt, *Plant Names*, p. 219, *sub* 'rapa'.
 - 20 S, II, 2, 43: R fol. 78^r: p. 212. Compare Hunt, 'The Anglo-Norman Vocabularies in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 88', *Medium Aevum*, 49 (1980), 5–25, p. 15: *hec rapa, rabe*.
 - 21 S, II, 8, 8: R fol. 90^v: p. 247.
 - 22 S, II, 4, 60: c fol. 54^v: p. 231. An earlier twelfth-century hand has written a similar gloss: *hilla est andulia*. See Hunt, 'Les gloses en langue vulgaire dans les manuscrits du *De nominibus utensilium*', p. 247: *hillis: aundulis*; the edition of the *De nominibus* in Scheler, *Lexicographie latine*, gives the glosses (p. 53) *andule* and *andouille*.
 - 23 On this issue of linguistic registers see S. Lusignan, 'Le français et le latin aux xii^e-xix^e siècles', *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations*, 42, 4 (1987), 955–67 (pp. 958–9).
 - 24 It is the way that Latin and vernacular inhabit and define these different spaces with all that they entail which makes them into discourses, not just languages. On the mother as the first teacher of language see the material cited in Riché, 'L'enfant dans la société chrétienne', pp. 294–5; Lusigan, *Parler vulgairement*, pp. 35–46.
 - 25 See for example Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus*, pp. 73 and 111–12. For translation see *MLTC*, p. 41 and p. 54. The biblical text is Hebrews, 5, 12–14.
 - 26 S, II, 2, 44: p. 212.
 - 27 R fol. 78^r. Compare MS F, fol. 53v: *idest scalones*. The same equivalence is found later in the manuscript at S, II, 8, 51, R fol. 91^r, p. 248: *innule dicuntur secundum quosdam escalunie, secundum alios herbe acres saporifere* ('according to some *inula* are called *escalunie*, according to others they are sharp tasty herbs'). Compare Hunt, *Plant Names*, p. 148, *sub* 'inula': *gallice scaloynes, anglie holleke, scalons, holleke. gallice et anglie scalouns, anglie scalons* etc. See also Hunt, 'Vernacular Glosses in Medieval Manuscripts', p. 11: *hinule, idest cepa, escalogne* (a gloss in a manuscript of John of Garland's *Accentarium*) and p. 20: *innule, escaluns* (in a manuscript of the same author's *Dictionarius*), and

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- A. Ewert, 'The Glasgow Latin-French Glossary', *Medium Aevum*, 25 (1957), 154–63 (p. 160): *hec hinnula: escalone*. The glossary is now printed in full in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 401–19.
- 28 c fol. 49^v.
- 29 Nequam, *De naturis rerum*, p. 274. The comment is a gloss on *hinnulis*. Wright believed the addition to be authorial because it appears in several early and independent manuscripts: see p. lxxvii.
- 30 Hunt, 'Vernacular Glosses in Medieval Manuscripts', p. 35. The date is revised in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 323.
- 31 See John of Garland, *Accentarium*, in MS G, pp. 68–140 (p. 78).
- 32 See for example the *Liber equivocum* and *Unus omnium* of John of Garland: for manuscripts see G. Bursill-Hall, 'Johannes Garlandia: Forgotten Grammarian and the Manuscript Tradition', *HL*, 3 (1976), 155–77.
- 33 This passage is cited and discussed in Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 197–8.
- 34 S, I, 7, 31: c fol. 46^r: p. 197. Compare Ewert, 'The Glasgow Latin-French Glossary', p. 161: *hec cucula: cufle*, and p. 163: *hic cuculus: cucu*; J. R. Williams, 'The *De differentiis et derivationibus grecorum* attributed to William of Corbeil', *Viator*, 3 (1972), 293–310 (p. 249, n. 9): *cuculus genus vestis ... gallice dicitur froc*; Hunt, 'The Anglo-Norman Vocabularies in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 88', p. 13: *hic cuculus: cucuel*; Hunt, 'The Old English Vocabularies in MS Oxford Bodley 730', *English Studies*, 62 (1981), 201–9 (p. 204); Hunt, 'The Tri-lingual Vocabulary in MS Westminster Abbey, 34/11', *Notes and Queries*, 226 (1981), 14–15 (p. 15). Typically, the R gloss (fol. 71^v) chooses to expand its definition in terms of its narrative significance, asserting that the litigious Persius of the eighth satire may be called a cuckoo on account of his mixed background: *vel cucullum idest cucia, quia sicut cucullus ab avibus diversis est educatus, ita et ille a parentibus diverse dignitatis scilicet dissimilium est ortus vel propagatus* ('or *cucullum*, that is "cuckoo", for just as the cuckoo is brought up by different kinds of birds, so this man was raised or born of parents of different ranks').
- 35 R fol. 83^r. I have been unable to trace the word *carovellos*.
- 36 S, II, 3, 245: c fol. 53^r: p. 226. Compare Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. II, p. 152: *liricina* [sic]: *chardunerole*, a gloss on John of Garland's *Dictionarius* in a thirteenth-century English manuscript.
- 37 See the list of R glosses below. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. I, p. 13. More work needs to be done on these comments.
- 38 On these issues see M. B. Parkes, 'Tachygraphy in the Middle Ages: Writing Techniques employed in the *reportationes* of Lectures and Sermons', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 (1989), 159–69.
- 39 S, I, 2, 14: c fol. 39^r: p. 170, trans. p. 19; S, I, 6, 118: c fol. 45^v: p. 195, trans. p. 85; S, II, 4, 60: c fol. 54^r: p. 231, trans. p. 191.
- 40 S, I, 10, 23: c fol. 47^v: p. 203, trans. p. 117. See Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. I, p. 64.
- 41 *Metalogicon*, I, 24, pp. 52–3; this is discussed and translated, along with other examples in J. J. Murphy, 'The Teaching of Latin as a Second Language in the Twelfth Century', *HL*, 7 (1980), 159–75 (pp. 171–3).
- 42 S, II, 3, 173: c fol. 52^r: p. 223.
- 43 S, I, 8, 47: c fol. 52^r: p. 199; S, I, 8, 48: c fol. 52^r: p. 199.

- 44 S, II, 2, 6: c fol. 49^r: p. 211; S, II, 5, 53: c fol. 55^v: p. 235; S, II, 8, 76: c fol. 59^r: p. 249.
- 45 See R. Hexter, 'Latinitas in the Middle Ages', p. 73.
- 46 See Ch. Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis* du xiii^e siècle avec gloses provençales', *Bulletin Du Cange*, 31 (1961), 157–224 (pp. 194–212).
- 47 Dante uses the idea of the commentary as obedient servant in *Convivio* I, v, ed. M. Simonelli, Bologna, 1966, pp. 10–12.
- 48 These arguments are explored in a similar way in Suzanne Reynolds, '“Let him read the *Satires* of Horace”: Reading, Literacy and Grammar in the Twelfth Century', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading: Essays in English Literature and History*, eds. J. Raven, H. Small and N. Tadmor, Cambridge, 1996.
- 49 See S. Heinimann, 'Die Lehrer vom Artikel in den romanischen Sprachen von der mittelalterlichen Grammatik zur modernischen Sprachwissenschaft', *Vox romanica*, 24 (1965), 23–43 (p. 25). See Aristotle, *La Poétique*, ed. and trans. R. Dupont-Roc and J. Lallot, Paris, 1980, pp. 102–5. This contrasts markedly with the division into two parts in the text on logic, the *Peri hermenias*. See Aristotle, *Categories and De interpretatione*, trans. J. L. Ackrill, Oxford, 1963, pp. 43–5. Later grammarians diverged from Aristotle and each other in positing different relationships between the article and the pronoun: Priscian stated that the Stoics considered the article and the pronoun to be a single part of speech: see *Partitiones*, *GL*, III, p. 492.
- 50 See, for example, Diomedes writing in the fourth century, *Latini articulum, Graeci interiectionem non adnumerant*, cited in Heinimann, 'Artikel', p. 26.
- 51 Quintilian, *IO*, I, 4, 19, vol. I, p. 26; Priscian, *IG*, XVII, 27 (*GL*, III, p. 124). This denial occurs several times in the *Institutiones*: compare *IG*, II, 16 (*GL*, II, p. 54), *quamvis integros in nostra non invenimus articulos lingua*; *IG*, II, 17 (*GL*, II, p. 55), *quem purum per se non apud nos inveniri*; *IG*, XI, I (*GL*, II, p. 548), *nam articulos non habent [Romani]*.
- 52 *Etymologiae*, I, viii, 4.
- 53 *IG*, XVII, 27 (*GL*, III, p. 124); compare *IG*, XVII, 20 (*GL*, III, p. 120): '*hic*' vero et '*haec*' et '*hoc*' indubitanter pronomina sunt, quae nisi in declinatione nominum a grammaticis loco articularum non recipiuntur.
- 54 *Ars minor*, p. 586.
- 55 See the *Declinationes nominum* in ms Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Ripol. 59, fols. 1^r–250^r (fol. 49^v). I am extremely grateful to Vivien Law for this reference.
- 56 See T. Städtler, *Zu den Anfängen der französischen Grammatik-sprache*, BZRP, 223, Tübingen, 1988, pp. 28–30 and 169–71. For these treatises see Maria Colombo-Timelli, *Un rifacimento antico-francese dell' 'Ars minor' di Donato: il manoscritto Parigi B.N. lat. 14095*, Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere 39, Milan, 1988; Colombo-Timelli, 'La traduction-remaniement de l'*Ars minor* de Donat du manuscrit B.N. n.a.f. 4690' (with edition), *Archives*, second series, 4 (1990), 1–26; S. Heinimann, 'L'*Ars minor* de Donat traduit en ancien français', *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure*, 23 (1966), 49–59; B. Merilees, 'Teaching Latin in French', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 12 (1987), 87–98; Merilees, 'L'*Art mineur* français et le curriculum grammatical', *HEL*, 12

- (1990), 15–29; Merilees, with A. Dalzell, 'Les manuscrits de l'Art mineur en ancien et moyen français', *Archives*, second series, 4 (1990), 27–52 (with an edition from MS Vatican, B.A.v. vat. lat. 1479, pp. 45–52); Östen Södergård, 'Le plus ancien traité grammatical français', *Studia neophilologica*, 27 (1955), 192–4; P. Swiggers, 'La plus ancienne grammaire du français', *Medioevo romanzo*, 9 (1984), 183–8; Swiggers, 'Les premières grammaires des vernaculaires gallo-romanes face à la tradition latine: stratégies d'adaptation et transformation', in *L'Héritage*, pp. 259–69.
- 57 See the facsimile of MS c678 of the University Library in Uppsala in *Die Seligenstädtler Lateinpädagogik. Eine illustrierte Lateingrammatik aus dem deutschen Frühhumanismus*, eds. M. Asztalos et al., 2 vols., Stockholm, 1989.
- 58 In the light of these comments on the article, it is interesting to note that in Ancient Greek grammatical paraphrase, each noun was systematically supplied with an article; see Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, pp. 37–8 and 40–4.
- 59 William of Conches, *Glose super Priscianum*, MS W, fol. 25^{va} on Priscian IG, II, 16 (GL, II, p. 54). Compare the *Promisimus* gloss (MS L, fol. 23^{ra}), which likewise states that the aim of *hic* is *discernere genus et casum et numerum*.
- 60 Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, MS A, fol. 17rb: *Quoniam vero hic et hec preponuntur in declinatione ad discernenda genera et casus, sicut quidam articuli apud grecos, inde videntur esse articuli, sed non sunt. Omnis enim articulus relative ponitur in constructione et numquam demonstrative; hic vero et hec et hoc semper demonstrative construuntur et numquam relative*; *Summa*, ed. Reilly, pp. 186–7. Note that in line with developments in grammar in the second half of the twelfth century, Helias uses syntactic criteria.
- 61 On references to the vernacular in grammatical texts see K. M. Fredborg, 'Universal grammar according to some twelfth-century grammarians', *HL*, 7 (1980), 69–84 (pp. 75–82).
- 62 See P. Wolff, 'Alexandre Neckham et l'article' in *Etudes de civilisation médiévale (ixe–xiiie siècles): Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande*, Poitiers, 1975, pp. 763–6; M. K. Fredborg et al., 'The Commentary on the *Priscianus maior* ascribed to Robert Kilwardby', *CIMAGL*, 15 (1975), 1–145 (pp. 106–7); Lusignan, 'Le français et le latin', pp. 959–61; see also Heinimann, 'Artikel', pp. 27–30. It was thought that *hic* was used as an article in the Latin of the Vulgate Bible, but this view has now been largely discredited except for certain formulaic phrases. See F. Abel, *L'adjectif démonstratif dans la langue de la Bible latine*, BZRP 125, Tübingen, 1971, pp. 194–201.
- 63 Cited in Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II' in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, p. 76, n. 5. Hugh of St Victor's *De grammatica*, an elementary, didactic text, employs *hic* in the customary manner in his discussion of nominal gender, and explicitly calls it an article: *Epicoenon, idest promiscuum, quod sub uno articulo et una voce utrumque sexum significat* ('this is the *epicoenon* or promiscuous gender, because it signifies both sexes by one article and one *vox*'): see *Hugo de Sancto Victore opera propaedeutica*, ed. R. Baron, Indiana, 1966, pp. 75–156 (p. 90).
- 64 Cited in Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', p. 76, n. 5.
- 65 Grammars of French had much difficulty in incorporating the article precisely because of their adherence to a Latin model: see C. Demaizière, 'Une contrainte

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de l'héritage latine: le difficile classement de l'article chez les grammairiens français du xvii^e siècle', in *L'Héritage*, pp. 325–39; A. Joly, 'Le problème de l'article et sa solution dans les grammaires de l'époque classique', *Langue française*, 48 (1980), 16–27; P. Swiggers, 'L'article en français: l'histoire d'un problème grammatical', *Revue de linguistique romane*, 49 (1985), 379–409. More generally see J.-Cl. Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe: naissance de la notion de complément dans la grammaire française, 1530–1700*, Geneva, 1968.

6 READING WORD BY WORD 2: GRAMMATICAL AND RHETORICAL APPROACHES

- 1 My comments here owe much to the important article by Wieland, 'Latin Lemma-Latin Gloss'.
- 2 See Priscian *IG*, xvii, 12 (*GL*, III, p. 116); Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, p. 48.
- 3 *S* II, 8, 91; c fol. 61^r: p. 250.
- 4 *S* I, 2, 93; c fol. 40^r: p. 173 and *S* II, 1, 69; c fol. 49^r: p. 209.
- 5 *Ars minor*, p. 587–8. This interpolation is a version of the opening passage of Priscian's *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*, which often circulated with the *Ars minor*, and which was likewise considered suitable for the *pueri*, the youngest students of Latin. See *GL*, III, pp. 443–56 (p. 443) and C. Jeudy, 'L'*Institutio de nomine, pronomine et verbo* de Priscien', *RHT*, 2 (1972), 73–144 (pp. 73–6).
- 6 *S* I, 3, 130; c fol. 41^v: p. 180.
- 7 *S* I, 4, 21; c fol. 42^r: p. 181.
- 8 *S* I, 4, 44; c fol. 42^r: p. 182.
- 9 Only one gloss in the survey of the c glosses used *scilicet*, and that as part of a second-order definition, which glosses the gloss itself. The only *scilicet* gloss I have found as a simple synonymic gloss is in R (fol. 77^v), where *mullum* (red mullet) is glossed *scilicet murvellum* ('namely, fish'), where the glossator seems to confuse the two words (*S*, II, 2, 34, p. 212). Again, these findings on metalanguage and contextual definition accord with those of Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, pp. 30–2.
- 10 Respectively, c fol. 41^v, p. 170 and c fol. 41^r, p. 170.
- 11 *S*, I, 8, 12; p. 197. See the discussion on equivocation pp. 52–3 above, notes 30–33 for bibliography.
- 12 c fol. 46^r. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse*, Cambridge, 1899, p. 282 tantalisingly suggests that this gloss 'is Neckam', but I have been unable to trace it.
- 13 *S*, I, 6, 95; c fol. 45^v: p. 194.
- 14 *S*, I, 1, 104; p. 169, trans. p. 13. Compare Hugutio of Pisa, *Magnae derivationes*, ms Cambridge, Peterhouse 94, fol. 87^{va}: *sub 'nubo': hic nebulo, is, idest lector, quia vanus est ut nebula et cito vanescit* ('this *nebulo*, that is a parasite, because he is empty like a cloud and vanishes quickly').
- 15 c fol. 39^r. Compare MS F, fol. 43^v: *Vappum est vinum nullius saporis, sicut vocatur quia est nullius sciencie qui omnia bona sua devastat* ('*vappum* is wine with no taste, thus (the prodigal) is called this because he who wastes all his resources, has no sense').

- 16 Respectively, R fol 61^v and S, I, 5, 16: R fol. 68^r: p. 187. Again, compare Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, p. 30: 'If the lemma is a polysemous word the lexical gloss never provides the entire range of the polysemy but only that particular meaning which is required by the context of the lemma'.
- 17 An inadequate edition of this text can be found in A. Mai, ed., *Thesaurus novus latinitatis*, in *Classici auctores e vaticanis codicibus editi*, 10 vols., Rome, 1828–38, vol. VIII, Rome, 1836; I have used this in conjunction with the text in MS Z fols. 1–103^v. I quote from the manuscript in the text, and give references to both edition and MS in the notes. For the fullest list of manuscripts of the *Liber derivationum*, see now R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson (with Michael Gullick), *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Woodbridge, 1993, p. 95.
- 18 S, I, 3, 45: c fol. 41^r: p. 176. A parallel gloss on a verb can be found in the Vatican manuscript (fol. 67^r), where S, I, 4, 105 is glossed *insero, -ris, idest instruit* ('I implant, you implant, that is to say, he instructed').
- 19 S, I, 1, 94: c fol. 38^v: p. 168.
- 20 S, II, 5, 31: c fol. 55^r: p. 234.
- 21 IG, II, 23 in GL, II, p. 57. Priscian commentators who remark on this include Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, MS A, fol. 21^{rb}, ed. Reilly, p. 213; and an anonymous early thirteenth-century commentator on the *Institutiones* in MS London, British Library, Harley 2452, fols. 14^r–26^r (fol. 16^r): *Primitiva sunt ut nilus, mons, derivativa ut nilius, montanus*.
- 22 See H-J. Niederehe, 'Friedrich Diez und die Etymologie des 13 Jahrhunderts', in *Akten des Kolloquiums zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Romanistik in memoriam Friedrich Diez*, eds. H-J. Niederehe and H. Haarman, ASTHLS 9, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 21–33 (p. 27).
- 23 Cited in C. Riessner, *Die 'Magne Derivationes' des Uggucione da Pisa und ihre Bedeutung für die romanische Philologie*, Temi e testi 11, Rome, 1965, p. 45. Riessner's reference is to MS A, fol. 17^v, but the correct reference is MS A, fol. 9^{rb}, ed. Reilly, p. 114. In the third part of Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon* (completed 1286), this topos is extended into an allegorical account of the birth of language and grammar which also draws on Horace's *Ars poetica*, 51–3 and *Epistolae*, II, 2, 119–20 and the book of Ecclesiastes 1, 7. I have used the facsimile of the 1470 Mainz edition of the *Catholicon*, Farnborough, 1970 (unpaginated).
- 24 For introductory material on Osbern, see R. W. Hunt, 'The 'Lost' Preface to the *Liber derivationum* of Osbern of Gloucester', in *Collected Papers*, pp. 151–66 (quotation p. 159); L. E. Marshall, 'Osbern mentions a book', *Philological Quarterly*, 56 (1977), 407–13; E. Pellegrin, 'Un manuscrit des *Derivationes* d'Osbern de Gloucester annoté par Pétrarque', *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 3 (1960), 263–6; F. Robustelli della Cuna, 'Sulla Panormia di Osbern da Gloucester', *Aevum*, 49 (1975), 127–36; O. Weijers, 'Lexicography in the Middle Ages', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 139–53, and now Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, 372–82.
- 25 Priscian, *Partitiones duodecim versuum aeneidos principalium*, GL, III, pp. 459–515. See also Marinoni, 'Du glossaire au dictionnaire', pp. 130–1.
- 26 S, II, 2, 16: c fol. 49^v: p. 211, trans. p. 137. Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 459; MS Z fol. 50^{va}.

- 27 R fol. 77^v.
- 28 S, I, I, 104: c fol. 39^r: p. 169. Compare the gloss at R fol. 61^v: *cum bona pretirent ut nebula*. For ancient etymologies on this word see R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*, Leeds, 1991 (henceforth Maltby), p. 406; see also Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 378 *sub* 'nubo', MS Z, fol. 41^{rb}; Balbi, *Catholicon*, *sub* 'nebulo' and for Hugutio n. 14 above.
- 29 S, II, 8, 51: R fol. 91^v: p. 248. *Eschirevies* also glosses *lactuca* at S, II 4, 59: R fol. 85^r: p. 231. See Hunt, *Plant Names*, p. 10. See the examples from Isidore and Pliny cited in Maltby, p. 209: Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 495, MS Z, fol. 52^{vb}, *sub* 'ruo': Balbi, *Catholicon*, *sub* 'eruca'.
- 30 Respectively; S, I, 2, 45; c fol. 39^v: p. 171; S, I, 4, 4: c fol. 42^r: p. 180 and S, II, 8, 9: R fol. 90^v: p. 247. For *sica* see Maltby, p. 565, Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 529, MS Z fol. 56^{vb}, *sub* 'seco' and Balbi, *Catholicon*, *sub* 'sica'. Balbi illustrates the use of the derived *sicarius* with this line from the *Satires*. See also John of Garland, *Opus synonymorum*, PL, 150, col. 1585, and Hunt, 'Vernacular glosses in medieval manuscripts', pp. 33 and 34.
- 31 Papias, *Elementarium*, ed. V. de Angelis, Milan, 1977–: beyond the letter A I have used MS Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4. 1. For examples of Papias' method, see Weijers, 'Lexicography in the Middle Ages', p. 140; R. Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1970, p. 25; Marinoni, 'Du glossaire au dictionnaire', p. 133. There is a good survey of these developments in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 371–94.
- 32 Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 99, MS Z, fol. 13^{va}. The quotation is from Persius, *Satires*, II, 64.
- 33 The drawbacks of this method for a culture increasingly concerned with ease of reference to texts are shown by the fact that Hugutio of Pisa's *Magne derivationes* adopts a more rigorously alphabetical approach, which is in turn rendered into absolute alphabetical order by Balbi's *Catholicon*. On the growing importance of alphabetical order in this period see Cl. Buridant, 'Lexicographie et glossographie médiévales', *Lexique*, 4 (1986), 9–46 (pp. 19–21); L. W. Daly and B. A. Daly, 'Some Techniques in Mediaeval Latin Lexicography', *Speculum*, 39 (1964), 229–39; L. W. Daly, *Contributions towards a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Brussels, 1967; T. McArthur, *Worlds of Reference. Lexicography, Learning and Language from the Clay Tablet to the Computer*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 74–80, and Weijers, 'Lexicography', pp. 149–50. By the late thirteenth century, most new manuscripts of the *Magne derivationes* were furnished with an alphabetical index: see A. Marigo, *I codici manoscritti delle 'Derivationes' di Ugucione Pisano*, Rome, 1936, pp. x–xi.
- 34 See Marinoni, 'Du glossaire au dictionnaire', p. 138; also Weijers, 'Lexicography in the Middle Ages', p. 147.
- 35 See Hunt, 'The 'Lost' Preface', p. 159. Compare the following from Hugh of Saint Victor, *De vanitate mundi: Alii verborum inflexiones, compositiones et derivationes, primo audiendo cognoscere, deinde conferendo ad invicem atque identidem repetendo, memoriae commendare satagunt* ('others have enough to do, getting to know the inflections of verbs, the compounds and derivations of words, in the first place by listening, afterwards by comparing with each other

- and repeating the same ones, they [should take care to] commit them to memory'), cited in Marinoni, 'Du glossaire au dictionnaire', p. 138.
- 36 See B. Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages', pp. 215–16; M. Tavoni, 'On the Renaissance Idea that Latin derives from Greek', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3rd series, 16, i (1986), 205–35; Williams, 'The *De differentiis et derivationibus grecorum* attributed to William of Corbeil', pp. 293–4 and 309.
- 37 See Eberhard of Béthune, *Grecismus*, ed. J. Wrobel, *Corpus grammaticorum medii aevii* 1, Bratislava, 1887, pp. 26–53; Williams, 'The *De differentiis et derivationibus grecorum*', p. 294. See also Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 289–368.
- 38 Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages', pp. 215–16. On Bacon see Irène Rosier, 'La *grammatica practica* du ms British Museum V A IV: Roger Bacon, les lexicographes, et l'étymologie', *Lexique*, 11 (1993), Actes de la table-ronde: l'étymologie au Moyen Age, and on Grosseteste see A. C. Dionisotti, 'On the Greek Studies of Robert Grosseteste', in *On the Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays*, eds. A. C. Dionisotti, A. Grafton and J. Kraye, London, 1989, pp. 19–39.
- 39 GL, II, p. 1. William of Conches for instance interprets the metaphor: *sic nostra studia a suis precesserunt* ('thus our studies proceeded from theirs'); MS W, fol. 1^{vb}.
- 40 MS L, fol. 20^{rb}. The *derivare/dirivare* distinction soon becomes canonical.
- 41 For Hugutio, see principally R. W. Hunt, 'Hugutio and Petrus Helias', in *Collected Papers*, pp. 145–9; J. Holzworth, 'Hugutio's *Derivationes* and Arnulfus' Commentary on Ovid's *Fasti*', *TAPA*, 73 (1942), 259–76; Riessner, *Die 'Magna Derivationes' des Uguccione da Pisa*. Hugutio's career undergoes radical reassessment in W. Müller, 'Huguccio of Pisa: Canonist, Bishop and Grammarian?', *Viator*, 22 (1991), 121–52, which refers to previous studies. For an examination of the derivational method in Osbern and Hugutio see R. Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie*, pp. 22–30; Marinoni, 'Du glossaire au dictionnaire', pp. 131–8; Riessner, *Die 'Magna Derivationes'*, pp. 39–84, and Weijers, 'Lexicography in the Middle Ages', pp. 140–7. For Greek in Hugutio see Riessner, *Die 'Magna Derivationes'*, pp. 66–76. Other authors deny that *derivatio* covers the relationship between different languages: see Hunt, 'The 'Lost' Preface', pp. 155–7.
- 42 S, I, 2, 2: p. 169.
- 43 c fol 39^r. The same derivation is found in a gloss on the same passage in MS S, fol. 43^r.
- 44 R fol 61^v. Compare the R gloss on S, II 3, 228: p. 225 (fol. 82^v): *unguentarius: unguenti venditor*. The same derivation is found in MS Périgueux, Bibliothèque Municipale 1, fol. 110^r. For the polysemy of *polis* see Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis* du xiii^e siècle', p. 207; also discussed in Rosier, 'La *grammatica practica*'.
- 45 Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 439, MS Z, fol. 47^{ra} and in a *Repetitio* section, p. 476, MS Z, fol. 94^{ra-b}.
- 46 Papias' definition is similar but does not provide the form of the derivation: MS CUL, Kk. 4. 1, fol. 43^{va}, *farmacopola, medicamenti venditor grece*.

- 47 A fairly sympathetic account is given in E. R. Curtius, 'Etymology as a Category of Thought' in his *ELLMA*, pp. 495–50; Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', pp. 63–4. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, sees etymology as part of an historical anthropology. By far the most important recent contribution to the subject is the collection of essays in the journal *Lexique*, 11 (1993). The period between Isidore and the twelfth century is covered in M. Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ASTHLS 44, Amsterdam, 1989.
- 48 Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, xxix, 1. This definition is repeated verbatim by Hugh of Saint Victor, *Opera propaedeutica*, p. 119 and very closely by Papias, cited by Riessner, *Die 'Magna Derivationes'*, p. 42, n. 3. See J. Engels, 'La portée de l'étymologie isidorienne', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 3 (1962), 99–128; J. Fontaine, 'La situation de la rhétorique dans la culture latine tardive; observations sur la théorie isidorienne d'étymologie', *Caesarodunum*, 14bis (*Colloque sur la Rhétorique*) (1979), 197–205, and 'Aux sources de la lexicographie médiévale: Isidore de Séville, médiateur de l'étymologie ancienne', in *La Lexicographie du Latin Médiéval*, Colloque du CNRS no. 589, Paris, 1981, pp. 97–103; D. Knox, *Ironia: Medieval and Renaissance Ideas on Irony*, Leiden, 1989, pp. 158–69.
- 49 Cicero, *Topica*, 35–37, ed. W. Friedrich, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 425–49 (pp. 432–3). For translation see Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, ed. and trans. H. M. Hubbell, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 409; Boethius, *In Topica Ciceronis commentariorum libri sex*, PL, 64, cols. 1039–1174 (col. 1111): *Notatio igitur est quoties ex nota aliqua rei, quae dubia est, capitur argumentum* ('It is etymology therefore whenever in the case of a debated matter, an argument is taken from the name of the thing'). Though less popular than the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium*, the *Topics* were known in this period, principally through Boethius' commentary; Richard of Fournivall's mid-thirteenth-century *Biblionomia* includes it as a rhetorical textbook (see Bliese, 'The Study of Rhetoric', p. 375) and it is part of Thierry of Chartres' dialectic curriculum; see Evans, 'The Uncompleted *Heptateuch*', p. 8.
- 50 On allegory and etymology see P. Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, Leiden, 1974, p. 21 and J. B. Allen, *The Friar as Critic: Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Nashville, 1971, pp. 14–16.
- 51 See Rosier, 'La grammatica practica'.
- 52 S, I, 4, 56: c fol. 42^v: p. 182, trans. p. 53.
- 53 S, I, 3, 40; R fol. 64^f, p. 176. Compare Osbern, *Derivationes*, pp. 431 and MS Z, fol. 46^{vb}; p. 461 and MS Z, fol. 94^{ra}: the Horace text is used as an example in both cases. Rosier, 'La grammatica practica', cites the related material from the *Catholicon* and discusses Roger Bacon's objections to this kind of etymologising.
- 54 The use of this term in etymologies is commented on in Rosier, 'La grammatica practica'.
- 55 Glose, MS W, fol. 5^{ra}: Priscian, *IG*, I, 2 (*GL*, II, pp. 5–6). See Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, I–LXX, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL, 97, Turnhout, 1958, on Psalms I, I, p. 30: *Etymologia est enim oratio brevis, per certas associationes ostendens ex quo nomine id, quod quaeritur, venerit nomen*. William's views are discussed in I. Rosier, 'Le commentaire des Glosulae et des Glose de Guillaume

- de Conches sur le chapitre *de voce* des *Institutiones grammaticae* de Priscien', *CIMAGL*, 63 (1993), 115–44 (p. 143).
- 56 Peter Helias, *Summa*, in MS A, fol. 2^{rb}, ed. Reilly, p. 70 See Hunt, 'The 'Lost' Preface', p. 155. For Balbi's innovations in the late thirteenth century, see Rosier, 'La *grammatica practica*'.
- 57 For the definitions of etymology in the *Promisimus* and *Tria sunt* commentaries on Priscian see Hunt, 'The 'Lost' Preface', pp. 155–6. Compare the early thirteenth-century anonymous glosses on Priscian's *Institutiones* in MS K, fols. 45^r–46^v (fol. 46^{ra}): *et dicitur ethimologia ab ethi quod est mos et logos quod est sermo, quasi moralis sermo* ('and etymology comes from *ethi* which means morals and *logos* which means speech, as it were moral speech').
- 58 For *similitudo* see Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie*, pp. 46–8.
- 59 See for example the pedagogic uses in J. P. Heironimus and J. G. Russell, 'Two Types of Thirteenth-Century Grammatical Poems', *Colorado College Publication*, 158 (1929), 3–27.
- 60 For *expositio* and etymology see Hunt, 'Hugutio and Petrus Helias', p. 149; Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie*, pp. 65–8; Marshall, 'Osbern', p. 411; Niederehe, 'Friedrich Diez und die Etymologie', pp. 23 and 28–9.
- 61 This is, of course, the central argument of Copeland, *Rhetoric*, chapters 2 and 3; see also Martin Irvine, 'Bothe texte and glose: Manuscript Form, the Textuality of Commentary and Chaucer's Dream Poems', in *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies*, eds. C. Cook Morse, P. Reed Doob and M. Curry Woods, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 31, Kalamazoo, 1992, pp. 81–119.
- 62 *Glose*, MS W, fol. 5^{ra}: *Hec ethimologia ad sensum plus pertinet quia omnis enim vox est sonus: merito a verbo quod significet actum figurativa sonandi vox dicitur* ('This etymology pertains more to sense because every *vox* is a sound: it is appropriate that *vox* is derived from a verb which signifies the act, being figurative, of sounding'). Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 198, MS Z, fol. 80^{va}. This seems to be the source for the definition of etymology in the *Grecismus*, I, 61, p. 6: *Redde rei causam, sic etymologia fiet* ('give back the cause of the thing, thus etymology comes about'); see P. Guirard, 'Etymologie et *ethimologia*: motivation et rétomotivation', *Poétique*, 11 (1972), 405–13. For Hugutio see Niederehe, 'Friedrich Diez und die Etymologie', p. 23.
- 63 MS K, fol. 46^{ra}. See the discussion of the *presbiter* etymology in Rosier, 'La *grammatica practica*'.
- 64 S, I, 2, 31: c fol. 39^v: p. 170. See Maltby, p. 358.
- 65 Isidore, *Etymologiae*, x, 165, who could have taken it from a Late Antique gloss on this passage: see Porphyryon, *Commentarii*, p. 192.
- 66 S, II, 3, 118: c fol. 51^v: p. 221. See Maltby, p. 585.
- 67 Compare the gloss in Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammatical* du xiii^e siècle', p. 175: *Sstragula* [sic]: *vestis tangens pedes*. Isidore associates the word with discolouration: see *Etymologiae*, xix, xxvi, 1; compare Hunt, 'Les gloses en langue vulgaire dans les manuscrits du *De nominibus utensilium* d'Alexandre Nequam', p. 243: *stragulata*; rayé, *vestis stragulata*, *vestur raé*, *vestur reié* and p. 261: *stragulata*, *stragula*: *vestis divisa diversis coloribus: gallice raye vel sayburel, androchia*; Hunt, 'Vernacular Glosses in Medieval Manuscripts', p. 14: *stragule: gallice estrailles*.

- 68 S, I, 5, 79: R fol. 69^r: p. 189, trans. p. 71.
- 69 S, II, 8, 24: R fol. 91^r: p. 247, trans. p. 241. Osbern, MS Z, fol. 96^r has: *Ridiculus, facetus, qui facit alios ridere*.
- 70 S, II, 2, 47: p. 212, trans. p. 141. The c (fol. 49^v) gloss for example runs: *hec accipenseris, idest avis, scilicet iaunt secundum quosdam* ('the accipenser, that is a bird, in other words a hawk, according to some'). I have been unable to trace this vernacular equivalent, although *accipiter* features regularly in contemporary glossaries: see Ewert, 'The Glasgow Latin–French Glossary', p. 162: *hic accipiter: hostoir*; Hunt, 'The Anglo-Norman Vocabularies in MS Oxford, Douce 88', p. 13: *hic ancipiter: ostur*; Hunt, 'The Tri-Lingual Glossary', p. 15: *ancipiter: un esperver, a gos hauke*; Hunt, 'The Old English Vocabularies', p. 204: *accipiter: gloschavoc*.
- 71 The manuscript reading is *quasi accipitens anser*. The tradition seems to have started with Isidore: see Maltby, p. 3; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII, vii, 55: *accipiter ... ab accipiendo, idest a capiendo, nomen capit*; It continues in the twelfth century with Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 126, *sub 'capio'* and Alexander Nequam, *De naturis rerum*, p. 77: *accipiter autem a capiendo nomen*.
- 72 S, II, 8, 21: R fol. 91^r: p. 247. In c fol. 58^v, the gloss omits the pivotal middle step, and therefore appears as a nonsensical pseudo-synonym: *bala, voratores*.
- 73 S, I, 2, 2, p. 169. See Maltby, p. 74; Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 16.
- 74 Osbern, *Derivationes*, p. 65, MS Z, fols. 8^{rb}–^{va}.
- 75 S, I, 5, 26: R fol. 68^r: p. 187.
- 76 See Maltby, p. 40; Servius, *In vergilii aeneidos libros commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1878–87, vol. II, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 196–7 on *Aeneid*, VII, 799: *Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxyrus dicebatur, quasi αἰων ζῶπων, idest sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset*.
- 77 S, II, 8, 13: R fol. 91^r: p. 247.
- 78 Cited in Riessner, *Die 'Magna Derivationes'*, pp. 54–5. For comparable etymologies see the *Summa* of William of Brito, *Expositiones vocabulorum Biblie, sub 'athene'* (MS Cambridge, St John's College, E. I, fol. 22^{rb}): *Athene quasi littorales dicuntur ab asta quod est littus quia in litore positione*; also the *De differentiis* of William of Corbeil in Williams, 'The *De differentiis*', p. 301. Both of these considerably post-date Hugutio's work. The other etymology, which is common to all three of these texts, resides in *athanatos* which means immortal, because knowledge, which is immortal, was prized there.
- 79 J. Culler, 'The Call of the Phoneme' in *On Puns: The Foundation of Letters*, ed. J. Culler, Oxford, 1988, pp. 1–16 (p. 2), calls etymology 'the diachronic version of punning'. It is significant that in his definition of *ethimologia* in the *Catholicon* (beginning of part 3) Balbi uses the term *alludit ... significationi* ('it alludes to/plays with meaning').
- 80 Curtius, 'Etymology as a Category of Thought', and Marinoni, 'Du glossaire', p. 138. See also P. B. Taylor, 'Some Uses of Etymology in the Reading of Medieval Germanic Texts', in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, eds. P. J. Gallagher and H. D'Amico, New York, 1989, pp. 109–20 (p. 110).
- 81 The classic statement that glosses lead to glossaries is found in W. M. Lindsay, ed., *The Corpus, Epinal and Leyden Glossaries*, Publications of the Philological Society, 8, London, 1921, p. 1.

- 1 GL, III, p. 108.
- 2 On this problem see P. Matthews, 'La linguistica greco-latina', in *Storia della linguistica*, ed. G. Lepschy, Bologna, 1990, pp. 187–310 (pp. 295–8); see also M. Baratin, *La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome*, Paris, 1989, pp. 369–76 and D. Donnet, 'La place de la syntaxe dans les traités de grammaire grecque, des origines au xii^e siècle', *L'Antiquité Classique*, 36 (1967), 22–48 (p. 46).
- 3 The status of Priscian's theory of syntax is a matter of some debate: see Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, pp. 29–41; Baratin, *La naissance*, pp. 367–485 and A. Luthala, 'On the concept of transitivity in Greek and Latin Grammars', *Papers on Grammar*, 3 (1990), 19–56.
- 4 See Kneepkens, *HIC*, vol. I, p. 706. For the grammarians' dependence on Priscian see Kneepkens, *HIC*, vol. I, pp. 64 and 707 and the very important article, Irène Rosier, 'La définition de Priscien de l'énoncé. Les enjeux théoriques d'une variante selon les commentateurs médiévaux', in *Hommages à la mémoire de Jean Stéfanini*, eds. C. Benveniste, A. Chervel and M. Gross, Aix-en-Provence, 1988, pp. 353–73.
- 5 The *Priscianus minor* consists of IG, xvii–xviii (GL, III, pp. 106–377). See Baratin, *La naissance*, pp. 1–364 for an exhaustive analysis of other ancient texts bearing on syntactic problems and further bibliography.
- 6 See M. Gibson, 'Priscian *Institutiones grammaticae*: a handlist of manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 26 (1972), 105–24 (p. 105); M. Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, Sussidi Eruditi 29, Rome, 1978, p. viii, and C. H. Kneepkens, 'Transitivity, Intransitivity and Related Concepts in Twelfth-Century Grammar', in *De ortu grammaticae*, eds. G.L. Bursill-Hall, S. Ebbesen and K. Koerner, ASTHLS 43, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 161–89 (pp. 161 and 165). Two recent studies tackle the issue of the origins of medieval syntactic theory; see V. A. Law, 'Carolingian Grammars and Theoretical Innovation', in *Diversions of Galway: Papers from the 5th International Conference on the History of Linguistics*, eds. A. Ahlquist et al., Amsterdam, 1992, pp. 27–38, and A. Luhtala, 'Syntax and Dialectic in Carolingian Commentaries on Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*', *HL*, 20 (1993), 151–97. These studies overturn the idea that interest in syntax starts in 1100 and no earlier.
- 7 For these later texts see principally *HIC*, vol. II for an edition of Robert of Paris, *Breve sit*, *HIC*, vol. III for an edition of Robert Blund, *Summa in arte grammatica* and *HIC*, vol. IV for the *Absoluta* of Petrus Hispanus.
- 8 IG, II, 15 (GL, II, p. 53). See Baratin, *La naissance*, pp. 404–28 and Matthews, 'La linguistica greco-latina', p. 297 for Priscian's approach to the *oratio*.
- 9 See Rosier, 'La définition de Priscien', pp. 370–3 for a list of these medieval definitions and p. 353 for a clear formulation of their essential points; see also M. Sirridge, 'Notulae super Priscianum minore magistri Jordani', *CIMAGL*, 36 (1980), 1–104 (p. xv).
- 10 For the problematic history of the notion of sentence see Jean Stéfanini, 'Sur la notion de phrase et son histoire', *Recherches sur le français parlé*, 3 (1981), 7–18, and C. Marchello-Nizia, 'La notion de phrase dans la grammaire', *La langue française*, 41 (1979), 35–48.

- 11 See Rosier, 'La définition de Priscien', p. 353 and pp. 365–6.
- 12 *IG*, xvii, 2, *GL*, iii, p. 108: *quemadmodum literae apte coeuntes faciunt syllabas et syllabae dictiones, sic et dictiones orationem*, on which see Baratin, *La naissance*, pp. 372–3. Quotation in text is from James E. Tolson, 'The *Summa* of Petrus Helias on *Priscianus minor*' (henceforth *Summa*, ed. Tolson), *CIMAGL*, 27–28 (1978), 1–210 (p.14).
- 13 The conventional view is found in the early twelfth-century *Glosule*: see the *accessus* edited in M. Gibson, 'The Early Scholastic *Glosule* to Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*: the text and its influence', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 20 (1979), 235–54 (p. 248); Peter Helias' introduction to the *Summa*, edited in Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement*, p. 190: the *accessus* to the anonymous treatise *Circa hanc artem* in MS J (fol. 51^{ra}): *grammaticae partes sunt littere, sillabe, dictiones, orationes* ('the parts of grammar are letters, syllables, words and phrases').
- 14 See E. Jeuneau, 'Les deux rédactions des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscien', *RTAM*, 27 (1960), 211–47 (p. 246). Compare the gloss *Promisimus* in MS L, fol. 20^{ra}: *Constructio proprie dicitur dictionis et improprie orationis. Constructio enim dictionis dicitur proprietas que inest dictionibus inde quod congrue ordinantur ... De oratione vero nichil ad eum* (i.e. *grammaticum*), *sed ad dialecticum pertinet discutere* ('Construction is properly said of the word and improperly of the phrase. For the property which is inherent in the word and which means it can be correctly construed is called the construction of the word ... But it is the business of the logician and not the grammarian to discuss the phrase'). See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 39–94.
- 15 See M. A. Covington, *Syntactic Theory in the High Middle Ages: Modistic Models of Sentence Structure*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 39, Cambridge, 1984; R. W. Hunt, 'Absoluta: the *Summa* of Petrus Hispanus on *Priscianus minor*', *HL*, 3 (1975), 1–23; Kneepkens, *HIC*; Kneepkens, 'Transitivity'; and Irène Rosier, *La grammaire spéculative des Modistes*, Lille, 1983.
- 16 MS O, fol. 34^{vb}, under the heading *materia artis*. The *Promisimus* commentary, L fol. 20^{ra}, makes a similar point.
- 17 A list of the literary authors cited in the *Institutiones* is found in J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, second edition, Cambridge, 1906, p. 273.
- 18 Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 32, citing Juvenal, *Satires*, 6, 641–2. The example is taken from Priscian, *IG*, xvii, 3, *GL*, iii, p. 109.
- 19 Petrus Hispanus, *Absoluta*, p. 78, citing Juvenal, *Satires*, 3, 232. Petrus even uses the text of Aristotle's *Topics*, viii, 6 as an illustration of the use of a gerund with the accusative (p. 79): *quod raro apud auctores invenies, frequenter tamen apud Aristotilem*.
- 20 Robert of Paris, *Breve sit*, p. 28, citing Aristotle, *Posterior analytics*, 71a, 10. Robert uses even the text of Priscian itself in an illustrative capacity!
- 21 Robert Blund, *Summa*, p. 20, citing Horace, *Satires*, II, 1, 18–19: see *Opera*, p. 207. Blund regularly uses Boethius in an illustrative role, see pp. 78, 118, 121 and 185.
- 22 Robert of Paris, *Breve sit*, p. 133, Horace, *Satires*, I, 1, 100: see *Opera*, p. 168. For quotation as a means of validating problematic constructions see also Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 51 (the same biblical example is discussed in

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- Petrus Hispanus, *Absoluta*, pp. 7-9), and Robert Blund, pp. 81 and 137. The glossator of MS P spends some time on this construction: see Suzanne Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace', forthcoming.
- 23 See Blund, *Summa*, pp. 20, 68 and 144.
- 24 For Ralph of Beauvais see Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II' in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 39-94, and the introductions in Ralph of Beauvais, *Glose super Donatum*, ed. C. H. Kneepkens, Nijmegen, 1982, and *Liber Tytan*, ed. C. H. Kneepkens, Nijmegen, 1991.
- 25 See Ps-Jordan of Saxony, *Notulae*, p. xvii.
- 26 The *Verba preceptiva* is found in MS B, 120^{ra}-123^{va} (a copy of the *Liber Tytan* is in the same MS).
- 27 MS P, fol. 112^r: *Opera*, p. 167, trans. p. 9.
- 28 Virgil, *Bucolics*, 2, 1; see IG VIII, 13-14 (GL, II, p. 378).
- 29 B fol. 121^{vb}.
- 30 *Opera*, p. 167.
- 31 B fol. 121^{ra}.
- 32 See Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, pp. 107-9: Arthur W. Hodgman, 'Latin Equivalents of Punctuation Marks', *Classical Journal*, 19 (1923-24), 403-17 (p. 411). I am grateful to Malcolm Parkes for his help on medieval punctuation. See also I. Rosier, 'Le traitement spéculatif des constructions figurées', in *L'Héritage*, pp. 181-204; B. Colombat, 'Donat ou Priscien? Syntaxe et figures de construction dans la grammaire latine au xvie siècle', in *PLGA*, pp. 445-62; M. Sirridge, '*Institutiones grammaticae*, xvii, 187: Three reactions', in *L'Héritage*, pp. 171-80, and M. Sirridge, 'Robert Kilwardby: Figurative constructions and the limits of grammar', in *De ortu grammaticae*, pp. 321-37.
- 33 These comments are based on research into manuscript and published texts; for further details and bibliography see Suzanne Reynolds, *Learning Latin in the Twelfth Century: The Grammatical and Rhetorical Glosses on Horace's 'Satires'*, unpublished PhD, Warburg Institute, University of London, 1992, p. 134.
- 34 This typology is used in the important studies of Fred C. Robinson, 'Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 443-75, and M. Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfe und Altenglische Wortstellung', *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 18-58.
- 35 For the Psalter see C. Sisam and K. Sisam, *The Salisbury Psalter*, EETS 242, Oxford, 1959, p. 18; for Juvenius see M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of Latin Glosses', in N. Brooks, ed., *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, Leicester, 1982, pp. 99-140 (p. 112); for Aldhelm see George van Langehove, *Aldhelm's 'De laudibus virginitate' with Latin and Old English Glosses*, Bruges, 1941, p. 10; for Terence see R. Kauer, 'Die sogenannten Neumen im Codex Victorianus des Terenz', *Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*, 26 (1907), 222-7; on Macrobius see A. Peden, 'Science and Philosophy at the Time of the Norman Conquest: A Macrobius Manuscript from Llanbadarn', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 2 (1981), 21-45 (p. 31); and on Priscian see M. Draak, 'Construe Marks in Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts', *MKNAW*, n.s. 20 (1957), 261-82, and 'The Higher Teaching of Latin Grammar in Ireland during the Ninth Century', *MKNAW*, n.s. 30 (1967), 107-44.

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- 36 See K. M. Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', in *HTCWP*, pp. 175–95 (pp. 186–7).
- 37 For an analysis of these glosses on Horace see Noske, *Questiones pseudacronae*, pp. 213–20.
- 38 This is the opinion of H. P. A. Oskamp, 'The First Twelve Folia of Rawlinson B 502', *Eriu*, 23 (1972), 56–72 (p. 70), and the constant implication of Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Anglo-Saxon England'. His arguments are countered in G. R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153–73. Robinson, 'Syntactical Glosses', p. 465 draws a functional distinction between glosses in worn and obviously used manuscripts and those which appear in luxury manuscripts: I am in complete agreement with this.
- 39 See R. H. Robins, 'Theory-orientation versus Data-orientation: A Recurrent Theme in Linguistics', *HL*, 1 (1973), 11–26. The same point is made with respect to Dante's use of examples in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, in M. Shapiro, 'Dante and the Grammarians', *ZRP*, 105 (1989), 498–528 (p. 509).

8 GOVERNMENT: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF A GRAMMATICAL CONCEPT

- 1 On MS v see Buonocore, *Codices horatiani*, pp. 227–9. Orsini's ownership inscription (*Horatio antichissimo Ful. Urs.*) is one of a number on fol. 1^r; see P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, BEPHE 74, Paris, 1887, p. 361, no. 39.
- 2 One hundred and thirty-six examples of these linking glosses were analysed, taken in groups from different parts of the text to ensure that their function did not change.
- 3 The remaining 13 substantive–adjective pairs are in the nominative case attached to a subject group. Apart from adjective–substantive pairs (28), there are 15 subject–verb dyads, 1 ablative absolute and 11 pairs of nouns in apposition (7 nominative, 4 oblique).
- 4 The glossator of MS P (fol. 112^r) writes a long marginal analysis of the syntax of this passage; see the discussion of this gloss in Suzanne Reynolds, 'Inventing Authority: Glossing, Literacy and the Classical Text', in *Prestige, Authority and Power: Studies in Late Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. F. Riddy, forthcoming Boydell and Brewer, 1996.
- 5 In the v glosses also, the substantive adjective pair *lunam minorem* are linked by glosses without reference to the preposition *ad* which determines their case; see S, II, 8, 31–2, p. 247, trans. p. 241, v fol. 101^v. The second and third possibilities are discussed (in reverse order) by the anonymous author of the *Discendum est de regimine nominis*, in MS K, fols. 34^{ra}–44^{vb}, who notes (fol. 34^{ra-b}): *quidam dicunt quod substantivum non habet regimen cum adiectivo, sed ambo regitur ab eodem verbo; sed alii dicunt quod adiectivum regitur a substantivo, ex officio fixi* ('Some say that the substantive does not govern the adjective, but that both are governed by the same verb; but others say that the adjective is governed by the substantive by virtue of the substantive's function as a *fixum*'). The substantive was sometimes called the *nomen fixum*, the adjective the *nomen mobilium* to denote the fact that it could be applied to more than one referent: see Thurot,

- Extraits*, p. 312, n. 2. In the early thirteenth-century Pseudo-Jordan of Saxony asserted that substantives and adjectives do not govern each other, but that their joint inflection is governed by a third term: *sed ambo exiguntur a tertio*. See M. Sirridge, 'Pseudo-Jordan of Saxony, *Notulae super Priscianum minorem*', *CIMAGL*, 36 (1980), 1–104 (p. 72).
- 6 See J. Pinborg, 'Some Syntactical Concepts', in his *Selected Studies on Medieval Logic and Grammar*, London, 1984, pp. 496–509 (p. 496); C. H. Kneepkens, 'Transitivity, Intransitivity and Related Concepts in Twelfth-Century Grammar', in *De ortu grammaticae*, pp. 161–89; W. Keith Percival, 'Reflections on the History of Dependency Notions in Linguistics', *HL*, 17 (1990), 29–47 (pp. 34–5). For an assessment of the idea that *regimen* is of Arabic origin see M. G. Carter, 'The Arabic and Medieval Latin Grammatical Terms for "Governing"', in *Speculum historiographiae linguisticae*, ed. K. D. Dutz, Münster, 1989, pp. 29–36.
 - 7 See C. H. Kneepkens, 'Roger Bacon's Theory of the Double *Intellectus*. A note on the development of the theory of *congruitas* and *perfectio* in the first half of the thirteenth century', in *The Rise of British Logic*, ed. P. O. Lewry, Toronto, 1985, pp. 115–43 (p. 129). For Master Guido and an excellent survey of these issues see C. H. Kneepkens, 'Master Guido and his Views on Government: On Twelfth-Century Linguistic Thought', *Vivarium*, 16 (1978), 108–41.
 - 8 Kneepkens, 'Roger Bacon's Theory', p. 131.
 - 9 Kneepkens, 'Roger Bacon's Theory', pp. 117 and 130.
 - 10 For good surveys of *regimen* see M. Covington, *Syntactic Theory in the High Middle Ages: Modistic Models of Sentence Structure*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 12–19; I. Rosier, 'La syntaxe des Modistes', *Le Moyen Age*, 5th series, 1 (1987), 461–8 (pp. 463–4). For the early period in particular, see R. W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries I', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 1–38 (pp. 29–30); Kneepkens, 'Master Guido', pp. 123–30.
 - 11 Rosier, 'La syntaxe des Modistes', p. 465.
 - 12 Kneepkens, 'Master Guido', pp. 123–35.
 - 13 Kneepkens, 'Master Guido', p. 139.
 - 14 Ralph of Beauvais, *Glose super Donatum*, p. 11 and Kneepkens, 'Master Guido', p. 138.
 - 15 The opinion of William of Conches is quoted in Kneepkens, 'Master Guido', p. 130; see also K. M. Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', in *HTCWP*, pp. 177–95 (p. 193); Alexander of Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, p. 73; Hugh of Saint Victor, *De grammatica*, p. 106; Fierville, *Une Grammaire inédite latine*, p. 171; Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis*', p. 212. This view persists into the Renaissance; see W. Keith Percival, 'Deep and Surface Structure Concepts in Renaissance and Medieval Syntactic Theory', in *The History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*, ed. H. Parret, Berlin, 1976, 238–53 (p. 250).
 - 16 For examples of these lists see Hugh of Saint Victor, *De grammatica*, pp. 107–16; *Verba preceptiva*, MS B, fols. 120^{ra}–123^{va}; *Doctrinale*, pp. 70–87; Fierville, *Une Grammaire inédite latine*, pp. 33–42; Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis*', pp. 212–15 and the anonymous *Discendum est de regimine nominis*, MS K, fols. 35^{va}–44^{vb}.

- 17 For this notion see R. Sabbadini, 'Dei metodi nell'insegnamento della sintasi latina', *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 30 (1902), 304–14.
- 18 *Doctrinale*, 79.
- 19 *Verba preceptiva* in MS B, fol. 122^{va}; the same point is made in Fierville, *Une grammaire inédite latine*, p. 36; *Doctrinale*, pp. 83–4, under the section on the ablative; Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis*', p. 215, and Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 134.
- 20 *Verba preceptiva*, MS B, fol. 121^{rb}; compare Hugh of Saint Victor, *De grammatica*, p. 109; Fierville, *Une grammaire inédite latine*, p. 33; *Doctrinale*, p. 75; Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis*', p. 214.
- 21 The other possessive constructions glossed in V are S, I, 2, 7–8: *rem avi* ('the estate of his forebear'); S, I, 2, 16–17: *nomina tyronum* ('the names of those wearing the toga of adulthood'). For this construction see Priscian, *IG*, XVII, 118 (*GL*, III, p. 169); *Doctrinale*, p. 74.
- 22 As William of Conches says, *modo a nomine, modo a verbo exigi* ('[they can] sometimes be governed by the noun and sometimes by the verb'): MS W, fol. 126^{vb}; see Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De grammatica*, p. 106; *Verba preceptiva*, MS B, fol. 122^{ra}; *Doctrinale*, p. 88; Fierville, *Une Grammaire inédite latine*, pp. 33 and 37–42; Samaran, 'Une *Summa grammaticalis*', pp. 212–13.
- 23 See Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen', p. 25.
- 24 Fierville, *Une Grammaire inédite latine*, p. 171; Kneepkens, *HIC*, vol. 1, p. 66 (Master Guido); p. 70 (William of Conches); pp. 72–3 (the gloss on Priscian, *Licet multi in arte*); pp. 76–9 (Peter Helias) and p. 552; 'Transitivity', p. 176; R. H. Robins, 'Functional Syntax in Medieval Europe', *HL*, 7 (1980), 231–40 (p. 235); Rosier, 'La syntaxe des Modistes', p. 476 and Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 130. For the Modistic versions of this opinion see L. G. Kelly, 'La Physique d'Aristote et la phrase simple dans les ouvrages de grammaire spéculative', in *La grammaire générale des Modistes aux Idéologues*, eds. A. Joly and J. Stéfani, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1977, pp. 107–24, and A. Maierù, 'La grammatica speculativa', in *Aspetti della letteratura latina nel secolo XIII*, eds. C. Leonardi and G. Orlandi, Perugia and Florence, 1986, pp. 147–67 (p. 164).
- 25 See Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', p. 193, and Pinborg 'Some Syntactical Concepts', p. 498.
- 26 MS B, fol. 120^{vb}; compare *Doctrinale*, p. 71; Fierville, *Une Grammaire inédite latine*, p. 57; Fredborg and Kneepkens, 'Grammatica Porretana', p. 60; Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De grammatica*, p. 106; Kelly, 'La Physique d'Aristote et la phrase simple', p. 110; Kneepkens, *HIC*, vol. 1, p. 66 (Master Guido) and 'Transitivity', p. 175 (Robert Blund); Ralph of Beauvais, *Glose super Donatum*, p. 11 and William of Conches, *Glose*, MS W, fol. 126^{vb}. In his more theoretical examination of syntax, Peter Helias divided the SVO clause in the same way, but his sophisticated view of *regimen* leads him to insist that the nominative too was governed by the verb: see *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 155.
- 27 Indeed the notion of complement intervenes in the history of linguistic theories at a very late stage: see Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, and A. Chervel, 'Rhétorique et grammaire: petite histoire du circonstanciel', *Langue française*, 41 (February 1979), 5–19.
- 28 See Kneepkens, *HIC*, vol. 1, p. 77 and 'Transitivity', p. 166.

- 29 In v, there are 55 agreement glosses and 23 government glosses out of 136; in c, there are 64 agreement and 14 government glosses out of 89. Precise details of the c typology are as follows; of 64 glosses dealing with agreement, 47 delineate substantive–adjective relations (8 nominative, 39 oblique), 4 ablative absolutes, 8 nouns in apposition, and 5 subject and verb; of 14 glosses dealing with government, there are 6 verbal (4 verb and direct object, 2 verb and indirect object) and 8 nominal instances (2 comparatives, 1 nominative with dependent genitive and 5 obliques with dependent genitive). A further 11 deal with problems such as direct speech (2) and structural links (2 verb with infinitive, 3 verb with conjunction and 4 which unite the elements of the main clause).
- 30 In v, 7 of these are concerned with nominal relations: one links the subject to the dependent infinitive of its verb and the remaining 6 relate conjunctions with the subject of their clauses. Many more dyads centre on the verb's relations with other parts of speech. Four link verbs and adverbs, which according to Robert Blund, is an instance of *determinatio*. See Kneepkens, 'Master Guido', p. 139. A further 12 link verbs and their dependent infinitives, 1 a verb and its negative and another a verb to a preposition. Ten more relate verbs to the conjunction at the head of their clauses. In other words, 28 glosses indicate verbal relations which are for the most part not attended to by grammatical texts of the period.
- 31 The remainder of the 136 glosses consist of one which aims to overcome the ellipsis of the verb, another which shows that the two parts of a compound verb (*postponas*) have been split through the figure of *tnesis*, and a third which unites the terms of an interrogative device (*nonne plus*). I am unable to discern the function of the 7 glosses which remain.
- 32 For this ms see Munk Olsen, *L'Etude*, vol. 1, pp. 491. Precise details of the Perigueux manuscript typology are as follows; of 28 glosses dealing with agreement, 20 delineate substantive–adjective relations (7 nominative, 13 obliques), 1 ablative absolute, 1 pair of nouns in apposition, and 6 subject and verb; of 16 glosses dealing with government, there are 10 verbal (8 verb and direct object, 2 verb and indirect object) and 6 nominal instances (1 comparative, 5 nouns with dependent genitive). Thirty-one deal with problems such as direct speech (1) and structural links (10); 12 unite the elements of the main clause, 8 link the verb to a negative, an adverb, a conjunction or a dependent infinitive.
- 33 See Maartje Draak, 'The Higher Teaching', p. 121, and Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen', pp. 28–33.
- 34 See *Promisimus*, in L fol 75^{va}: this is quoted partially in Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', p. 76, n. 5.
- 35 Eberhard of Béthune, *Grecismus*, pp. 246–9.
- 36 See Petrus Hispanus, *Absoluta*, p. 63.
- 37 Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 131.
- 38 Petrus Hispanus, *Absoluta*, p. 53. This example (*Aeneid*, 1, 15–16) was canonical in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in such discussion; see Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 121, and Rosier, 'Le traitement spéculatif', pp. 200–1.
- 39 See Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, pp. 269–70.
- 40 See V. A. Law, 'Panorama della grammatica normativa del tredicesimo secolo', in *Aspetti della letteratura latina nel secolo xiii*, eds. Leonardi and Ornato, pp. 125–45 (pp. 143–4): 'Questo lavoro descrive le venti quattro *constructiones*,

dando per ciascuna un nome, un esempio e una spiegazione, e concludendo con un verso mnemonico.'

- 41 Sanford B. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 70–83 (p. 74). For a discussion of the genre see N. Orme, 'A Grammatical Miscellany of 1427–1465 from Bristol and Wiltshire', *Traditio*, 38 (1982), 301–26; and chapter 5 of his *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England*, London and Roncerverte, 1989, pp. 73–85.
- 42 Meech, 'John Drury', p. 82
- 43 Meech, 'John Drury', p. 74.

9 RIVAL ORDERS OF SYNTAX: VERNACULAR, NATURAL, AND ARTIFICIAL

- 1 See Aldo D. Scaglione, *The Classical Theory of Composition*, Chapel Hill, 1970, pp. 74–96; F. Charpin, *L'Idée de la phrase grammaticale et son expression en Latin*, Lille, 1972, p. 353; and P. Valesio, 'The Art of Syntax and its History', *Lingua e stile*, 9 (1974), 1–30 (p. 11). The parallel in Greek poetry is discussed in Jean Lallot, 'L'ordre de la langue: Observations sur la théorie grammaticale d'Apollonius Dyscole', in *PLGA*, pp. 413–26 (p. 425).
- 2 L. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'Ancien Français*, Paris, 1923, p. 350; P. Ménard, *Syntaxe de l'Ancien Français*, Bordeaux, 1969, pp. 28–9. For a detailed study of Old French word order see J. Hermann, 'Recherches sur l'ordre des mots dans les plus anciens textes français en prose', *Acta linguistica academiae scientiarum hungaricae*, 4 (1954) 69–93 and 351–82.
- 3 This division reflects a division in current scholarship on the 'target order' of the glosses. For studies which propose the vernacular see, Draak, 'The Higher Teaching'; Robinson, 'Syntactical Glosses'; Scaglione, *Classical Theory*, pp. 110–11. On the other hand, Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfe', proposes a pan-European metalinguistic model. It will become clear in this chapter that I tend towards Korhammer's argument, with the proviso that the system works because of its proximity to emerging vernacular structures.
- 4 For description and bibliography see Buonocore, *Codices horatiani*, pp. 94–6.
- 5 In fact, the infinitive goes with the noun *vitium*, for here Horace is promising to keep malice absent from his pages or works.
- 6 See Janet Martin, 'Classicism and Style in Latin Literature', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 537–68 (p. 544); Scaglione, *Classical Theory*, pp. 28–35; and Aldo D. Scaglione, 'Dante and the Rhetorical Theory of Sentence Structure', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. J. J. Murphy, London, 1978, pp. 252–69 (p. 262).
- 7 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, IX, 4, 26, vol. 1, p. 540.
- 8 The same passage in MS M, fol. 127^v is glossed in a less exhaustive way using *a*, *b* and *c* to bring *opinor esse notum* together. Further information is supplied in a marginal gloss in the same glossing hand: *ego opino(r) esse notum omnibus e(t) lippis atque tonsoribus, quo pacto p(ersius) s(it) u(ltus)* ('I think that it is known to all, both blear-eyed men and barbers, how Persius was revenged'). The elements of the main clause are thus reunited and re-ordered, and the order of the clauses

- established. In ms Périgieux Bibliothèque Municipale 1, fol. 123^v, the words *opinor*, *esse*, *notum* and *omnibus* are picked out using an identical superscript symbol.
- 9 Compare K. M. Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', p. 187: 'Although the theoretical treatises ... never discuss this elementary and practical notational device, the concept of a normal word order in a minimal sentence is a key notion in syntactic analysis.'
 - 10 *GL*, III, p. 164; see also *IG*, XVII, 12 (*GL*, III, p. 116).
 - 11 Covington, *Syntactic Theory*, p. 6. The problem of the ideal order of the parts of speech in the Greek tradition is discussed in Lallot, 'L'ordre de la langue'; and A. Luhtala, 'On the Concept of Transitivity in Greek and Latin Grammars', pp. 26–7. The confusion arises largely because Priscian did not have at his disposal a terminology which could distinguish the parts of speech as such from their function in a particular syntactic context: he consistently uses formal categories to describe syntactic function ('nominative' for subject, 'oblique' for object): see Luhtala, 'On the Concept of Transitivity', p. 53. The best survey of word order in Priscian is A. Luhtala, 'Considerations on Word Order in the Early Middle Ages', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 3 (1993), 209–40 (pp. 214–19).
 - 12 Thurot, *Extraits*, p. 87. On this text, see Luhtala, 'Considerations'.
 - 13 See Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, p. 75; C. H. Kneepkens, 'Ab omni homine habetur aliquod capud: A note on the concept of word-order in 12th-century grammatical thought', *Vivarium*, 25 (1987), 146–53 (p. 146); Robins, 'Theory-Oriented versus Data-Oriented', p. 15; and Scaglione, *Classical Theory*, p. 109.
 - 14 MS W, fol. 86^{ra}, gloss on *IG*, XVII, 2 (*GL*, III, p. 108).
 - 15 See Ménard, *Syntaxe*, p. 28.
 - 16 Peter Helias, *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 16; Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De grammatica*, p. 106; Alexander of Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, pp. 88–9; Ralph of Beauvais, *Glose super Donatum*, p. 11; Fredborg and Kneepkens, 'Grammatica porretana', p. 27.
 - 17 Kelly, 'La Physique d'Aristote et la phrase simple'; Kneepkens, 'Transitivity', p. 183; Robins, 'Functional Syntax', pp. 234–6; I. Rosier, 'Transitivité et ordre des mots chez les grammairiens médiévaux', in *Matériaux pour une histoire des théories linguistiques*, eds. S. Auroux et al., Lille, 1984, pp. 181–90 (pp. 183–7).
 - 18 Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, p. 19; Kneepkens, 'A note on the concept of word-order', pp. 146–8; Kneepkens, *HIC*, p. 643; Lallot, 'L'ordre de la langue', p. 424; U. Ricken, 'L'ordre naturel du français: naissance d'une théorie', in *La grammaire générale*, pp. 201–16 (pp. 210–13); Rosier, 'Transitivité', p. 184; R. Sabbadini, 'Sulla constructio', *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 25 (1897), 100–3 (p. 100); Scaglione, *Classical Theory*, pp. 109–20 and Thurot, *Extraits*, pp. 344–5.
 - 19 See L. Rockinger, ed., *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1963, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 16; for natural order as a pre-rhetorical writing style see Scaglione, 'Dante and Rhetorical Theory', p. 261 and P. V. Mengaldo, *Linguistica e retorica di Dante*, Pisa, 1978, pp. 283–4.

- 20 See Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, vol. 1, p. 441. For the narrative level see D. Kelly, 'The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Arts of Poetry', *Speculum*, 41 (1966), 261–78.
- 21 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, p. 58, *De ordine legendi; Absoluta, HIC*, vol. iv, p. 1; see also Rosier, 'La définition de Priscien', p. 366; Scaglione, *Classical Theory*, p. 106, and 'Dante and Rhetorical Theory', p. 258.
- 22 MS L fol. 20^{ra}. It seems that the lengthy opening sentence of the *Institutiones* often troubled students: see Maartje Draak, 'Construe Marks in Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts', p. 265.
- 23 *Doctrinale*, pp. 88–9. See also Scaglione, 'Dante and Rhetorical Theory', p. 259.
- 24 E. Gallo, *The Poetria nova and its sources in early Rhetorical Doctrine*, Paris, 1971, pp. 70–1; Scaglione, 'Dante and Rhetorical Theory', p. 261; Thurot, *Extraits*, p. 343. On *constructio* in all its senses see C. H. Kneepkens, 'On Mediaeval Syntactic thought with Special Reference to the Notion of Construction', *HEL*, 12 (1990), 139–76.
- 25 See MS London, British Library, Add. 10089, fol. 2^r.
- 26 For example, at S, I, 2, 17–18, p. 170, fol. 63^r, where 'Maxime' *quis non/ 'Iuppiter!*, *exclamat simul atque audivit?* is glossed: *Talis est ordo: atque simul audivit ... quis non exclamat 'O maxime Iuppiter'*: and S, I, 3, 29–30, p. 176, fol. 65^r where *iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis / naribus horum hominum*, is glossed *Ordo talis est*, with paraphrase following.
- 27 This manuscript and its glossing is discussed in some detail in Suzanne Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace'.
- 28 Similar glossed passages are S, I, 6, 34–7 (H fol. 75^v) where *qui* ('who') and *cogit* ('compels') are separated by four lines; S, I, 4, 46–7 (H fol. 73^v), separation of *spiritus* ('spirit') and *inest* ('is in'); S, II, 3, 24–5 (H fol. 82^v), suspension of the verb *noram* (I know); separation of negative *non* and verb *defendam* ('I will defend') is glossed at S, I, 6, 90–2 (H fol. 76^v) and separation of subject *Maecenas*, negative *non* and verb *suspendis* ('you suspend') at S, I, 6, 1–5 (H fol. 75^v).
- 29 Compare the separation of *meis* and *fascibus* ('my bundles of twigs'), glossed in the same way at S, I, 6, 96–97 (H fol. 76^v).
- 30 Respectively S, I, 6, 12–14 (H fol. 75^v); S, II, 1, 54–6 (H fol. 80^v) and S, II, 1, 35–6 (H fol. 82^v).
- 31 On the problems of signalling the intervention of another voice see A. W. Hodgman, 'Latin Equivalents of Punctuation Marks', *Classical Journal*, 19 (1923–4), 403–17 (p. 411), and P. McGurk, 'Citation Marks in Early Latin Manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 15 (1961), 3–13. The glossed direct speech is S, I, 3, 126–7 (H fol. 73^r), the glossed quotation is S, I, 4, 60–2 (H fol. 73^v), and the glossed reported speech S, II, 2, 124–5 (H fol. 82^r).
- 32 The *ordo* glosses are found only on fols. 73^r–76^v (S, I, 3, 124–S, I, 6, 97) and fols. 80^v–82^v, (S, II, 1, 54–S, II, 3, 36), suggesting that they were to form the focus of perhaps one or two lessons in the first instance with random recapitulations later in the reading of the text.
- 33 See H. Nordhal, '*Verborum ordo mysterium*': The functional issues raised by Old High German glosses and translation are addressed in an important but neglected study, A. Rousseau, 'Reflexions sur la nature et la fonction des gloses et des traductions en vieux-haut allemand'.

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10 FROM THE PHRASE TO THE TEXT: GRAMMATICAL AND RHETORICAL APPROACHES AGAIN

- 1 *Barbarismus* in Holtz, *Donat*, p. 663.
- 2 Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 55-66 provides a good survey of shifting boundaries between the two arts in the Middle Ages.
- 3 Donatus, *Barbarismus*, in Holtz, *Donat*, p. 653.
- 4 *Barbarismus*, p. 660.
- 5 *Barbarismus*, p. 655.
- 6 Not one is noted by name in the manuscript glosses under scrutiny here. This may seem strange at first sight, but is explicable on two counts: (1) many of the figures list act in the matter of syntax and most glossators chose to use construe marks, word order glosses and paraphrase to tackle these issues; (2) the fact that the syntax glosses do not name these figurative constructions may derive from a split transmission in the grammatical tradition of the figures. Priscian's scheme is very different from that of Donatus, and gives much greater weight to the figurative constructions. On this problem see B. Colombat, 'Donat ou Priscien?: Syntaxe et figures de construction au xvie siècle', in *PLGA*, pp. 445-62; M. Sirridge, 'Robert Kilwardby: Figurative Constructions and the Limits of Grammar', in *De ortu grammaticae*, pp. 321-37; Rosier, 'Le traitement spéculatif des constructions figurées'; and B. Colombat and I. Rosier, 'L'allothète et les figures de construction dans le *Catholicon* de Iohannes Balbi', *Archives*, second series, 4 (1990), 69-94, along with their 'Le *Catholicon*: édition et traduction des chapitres sur les figures de construction', pp. 95-161 of the same journal. Priscian's discussion of these figures occurs in *IG*, xvii, 153-74 (*GL*, III, pp. 182-98).
- 7 I have compared each gloss analysed with the comments of the scholiasts Porphyryon and Pseudo-Acron on the same passage, and note the few similarities which occur.
- 8 *Barbarismus*, p. 659: Kilwardby's commentary on this text refines the point in terms typical of thirteenth-century university grammar, that is with explicit reference to syntax. See Robert Kilwardby, *In Donati artem maiorem iii*, ed. L. Schmucker, Bressanone, 1984, p. 91: *dupliciter potest esse defectus dictionis, scilicet ita quod ille defectus causat incongruitatem in constructione, et sic est soloeismus, vel ita quod iste defectus non causat incongruitatem in constructione, et sic est vitium annexem, scilicet eclipsis*. For Isidore see *Eymologiae*, I, xxxiv, 10: for Alexander of Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, p. 158: *dicitur unius verbi defectus eclipsis, / quod poni decet, ut fiat constructio plena; / haec secum; precibusne bonum parere precantis?*
- 9 This text is unedited; the passage is quoted in M. D. Chenu, 'Auctor, Actor, Autor', *Bulletin Du Cange*, 3 (1926-7), pp. 81-6.
- 10 R fol. 87^r, p. 237.
- 11 M fol. 128^r, p. 197.
- 12 *Barbarismus*, p. 660.
- 13 *Etymologiae*, I, xxxiv, 13-16; *Doctrinale*, p. 159; the *Grecismus* says only rather vaguely (p. 10): *Ambiguum dictum dici solet amphibolia*, and classifies it with the barbarisms and solecisms. On the developments in logic see S. Ebbesen, 'Grammar in *Elenchi* Commentaries', *HL*, 7 (1980), 53-68 (p. 56).

- 14 See Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria*, p. 199. The *Ad Herennium*, II, xi, 16, pp. 85–6, considered that logicians were rather too desperate to seek out ambiguities and that the technique of attacking ambiguities in the opponent's speech should be used only sparingly by the orator.
- 15 *Doctrinale*, p. 157.
- 16 Both Alexander of Villa Dei and Eberhard of Béthune thus combine the definitions of the two metaplasms. The former writes *hoc fini tollit quod apocopa, dat paragoge* and the latter *Aufert apocope finem, quem dat paragoge* ('that which apocopa takes away from the end of a word, paragoge adds'): *Doctrinale*, p. 160; *Grecismus*, p. 3. See also *Barbarismus*, p. 661 and *Etymologiae*, I, xxxv, 2.
- 17 R fol. 69^r, p. 189. On this verb see Priscian, *IG*, x, 40 (*GL*, II, p. 531–2).
- 18 In fact, Priscian describes this metaplasms more accurately as *syncope*, rather than *apocope*: *IG*, IX, 41 (*GL*, II, p. 478). In Donatus' words: *syncope est ablatio de media dictione . . . ut audacter pro audaciter* ('syncope is the removal [of something] from the middle of a word'): *Barbarismus*, p. 661. The R gloss may be dependent on the Pseudo-Acronian scholia here, which provide the correct form of the verb, and add very vaguely that this constitutes a *figura detractio*: Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 71. *Paragoge* glosses the passive infinitive form *torquerier* (*S*, II, 8, 67; fol. 91^v, p. 249), which is used instead of the more usual *torqueri* ('to be tortured'), and thus represents an accurate use of the term. The glossator also adds a reinforcing gloss *idest -ri* to make the object of his remark clearer.
- 19 *Ars versificatoria*, p. 196
- 20 *Barbarismus*, p. 667.
- 21 Alexander simply writes: *Cum res est alii similis, pro nomine nomen / ponitur, ut fit, homo simplex cum dicitur agnus / debet metaphora dici translatio talis* (*Doctrinale*, p. 167), and Eberhard is still more concise: *Rebus ab externis sumpta est metaphora semper* (*Grecismus*, p. 10).
- 22 Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was little known in the West until the late thirteenth-century translation of William Moerbeke, ed. B. Schneider, *Aristoteles latinus*, 31, 1–2, Leiden, 1978, pp. 159–231; see J. J. Murphy, 'Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the Middle Ages', *QJS*, 52 (1966), 109–15, and J. Bliese, 'The Study of Rhetoric in the Twelfth Century', *QJS*, 63 (1977), 364–83. On metaphor in general see still the magisterial study by P. Ricoeur, *La métaphore vive*, Paris, 1975. Quotation from *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxiv, 45, p. 342.
- 23 See *Commentaries by Thierry*, p. 345.
- 24 *S*, I, 4, 34, p. 182
- 25 The commentaries of both Pseudo-Acron and Porphyryon discuss the passage in very similar terms, the former using the Greek μεταφορικῶς, the latter using the latinised term *translatio*; Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 54; Porphyryon, *Commentarii*, p. 208.
- 26 R fol. 64^v, p. 177.
- 27 Isidore, *Differentiae*, I, 64; see *PL*, 88, cols. 9–98 (col. 17).
- 28 A similar mixture of concerns can be found in John of Garland's *Exempla honestae vitae*, where the form of each rhetorical figure (as defined by the *Ad Herennium*) is illustrated by a salutary tale employing it: see E. Habel, 'Die

Exempla honestae vitae des Johannes de Garlandia, eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Romanische Forschungen*, 29 (1911), 131–54.

- 29 *S*, I, 7, 7–8, p. 196, R fol. 71^v; Ps-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 90 considers this passage to be *allegoricos*.
- 30 *S*, II, 8, 8, p. 247, R fol. 90^v.
- 31 Donatus defined synecdoche as the *significatio pleni intellectus capax, cum plus minusve pronuntiat* ('a signifier bearing the whole thought when either more or less of it is enunciated'): *Barbarismus*, p. 669.
- 32 Bede follows Donatus' core definition verbatim while substituting biblical for Virgilian examples: see Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*, in *Opera didascalica*, vol. I, ed. M. H. King, CCSL 123A, Turnhout, 1975, pp. 142–71 (pp. 156–7). Isidore additionally allows for the interchange of *genus* and *species* in his definition: *Etymologiae*, I, xxxvii, 13. Unsurprisingly, the *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxiii, 45, p. 340. also outlines the affective qualities of the trope, that is *festivitas* ('elegance') and *gravitas* ('impressiveness').
- 33 *S*, I, 6, 116–18, p. 195, R fol. 71^r.
- 34 See *Barbarismus*, p. 668; *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxii, 43, pp. 334–7; *De schematibus*, p. 155; *Etymologiae*, I, xxxvii, 8–10; *Doctrinale*, p. 168 and *Grecismus*, p. 9.
- 35 It is not unusual for a glossator to describe a trope without naming it: compare the Ovid glosses in Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, p. 61.
- 36 See L. Arbusow, *Colores rhetorici*, Göttingen, 1948, pp. 56 and 84.
- 37 In the *Orator*, Cicero distinguished thus: *hanc ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores, quia quasi summutantur verba pro verbis, μετανομιὰν grammaticè vocant, quod nomina traferuntur*, Cicero, *Orator*, 93, ed. R. Westman, Leipzig, 1980, p. 28. This does not imply that the glossators who used the term were necessarily well acquainted with the Ciceronian corpus, although the *Orator* was known at this time: see Bliese, 'The Study of Rhetoric', p. 377.
- 38 See Servius, on *Aeneid*, I, 9: *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, Harvard edition, vols. II–III, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1946 – Oxford, 1965, vol. II, p. 19: *et est figura hypallage, quae fit quotienscumque per contrarium verba intelleguntur*. This seems to be the source of Isidore's definition of hypallage, which he in fact considers a figure (*schema*) rather than a trope: *Etymologiae*, I, xxxvi, 22; Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. I, p. 108, on *Odes*, I, 28, 20: *figura hypallage, 'fugit Proserpina' pro 'fugerunt Proserpinam'*, and vol. II, p. 46 for *Satires*, I, 3, 99.
- 39 It is the lack of punctuation in the manuscript text that causes the glossator to construe *vilis* with *guttus* instead of with the preceding *echinus* as modern editors do.
- 40 *S*, I, 6, 128; fol. 71^r, p. 195, where *quantum interpellat inani / ventre diem durare* is glossed: *diem durare, ypallage, idest ventrem inanem . . . durare die*.
- 41 See *Doctrinale*, p. 174: *Si dicatur agens patiens vel vice versa, / sive modo simili tibi sit conversio facta, / fiet hypallagium: 'perflavit fistula buccas'* ('if the agent is used for the patient or vice versa, or if, in a similar fashion, a conversion is made by you, that is hypallage, for example "the pipe blew the cheeks"'). Glosses using this term are also found in both F and M at *Satires*, I, 5, 30–1, p. 187, on the lines *hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus / illinere* ('here I, bleary-eyed, smear black ointment on my eyes'). In M (fol. 125^v) the glossator simply writes *ypalage*, while in F, *oculis meis* ('my eyes') and *collyria nigra* ('black ointment')

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- are interchanged (fol. 48^r): *ypallage*. *Alliniebam meos oculos nigris colliris*. ('hypallage; I smear my eyes with black ointments'). There is no common source for these glosses in the scholia.
- 42 The following tropes, which I do not have space to discuss here, occur in MSS R, M, and F: antonomasia, epitheton and two species of hyperbaton (parenthesis and tmesis). For a survey of these see Reynolds, 'Learning Latin', pp. 217–20.
- 43 See *Ars versificatoria*, Kelly, 'The Scope of the Treatment of Composition', pp. 267–8.
- 44 Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 2.
- 45 F. D. E. Schleiermacher, 'The Hermeneutics: Outline of the 1819 Lectures', trans. J. Wojcik and R. Haas, *New Literary History*, 10 (1978), 1–16 (p. 2).
- 46 *Barbarismus*, p. 673; *Etymologiae*, I, xxxvii, 31–5. For Bede see *De schematibus*, pp. 169–71.
- 47 *Barbarismus*, p. 674.
- 48 For the trope see *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxiv, 46, p. 344, and for the figure of thought see IV, xlv, 59–xlvi, 61, pp. 376–82. It should be noted however that in his commentary on the *Ad Herennium*, Thierry divides the figure of thought *similitudo* into the three tropical species of the grammatical tradition! See *Commentaries by Thierry*, p. 353.
- 49 *Ad Herennium*, IV, xlv, 59, p. 376.
- 50 For *exemplum* see *Ad Herennium*, IV, xlix, 62, pp. 382–4; for *imago* see *Ad Herennium*, IV, xlix, 62, pp. 384–5.
- 51 *Doctrinale*, p. 172; *Poetria nova*, pp. 235–6; *Laborintus*, p. 356.
- 52 For a survey of the three species, and especially *exemplum*, see Reynolds, 'Learning Latin', pp. 237–46.
- 53 It is often difficult to assess how technically the terms are used: a similar point is made in G. R. Evans, 'St. Anselm's Technical Terms of Rhetoric', *Latomus*, 36 (1977), 171–9 (p. 175).
- 54 S, I, 1, 68–9, p. 167.
- 55 The Pseudo-Acronian scholia (vol. II, p. 9) also examine the comparison of two men unable to use their resources, the one through his own will, the other because he was prevented by the Furies. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, 2, 606, also refers to Tantalus, and this is glossed by the twelfth-century annotator of MS Hafn. 2015: see Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, p. 71.
- 56 S, I, 2, 82–92, pp. 172–3.
- 57 S, I, 6, 26, p. 191. In M this same passage is glossed (fol. 126^v): *et hic ostendit per simile quod invidia accrevit*.
- 58 There are other kinds of gloss which use the term *probare*, usually in the form *probat quod* and usually at the points where Horace takes up or clarifies his moral position. Passages glossed in this way include the institution of law by men not nature in S, I, 3, 113–14, p. 179, in C, fol. 43^v: *probat quod iura et leges ex impositione hominum sunt constituta non ex natura* ('he proves that law and statutes were constituted by the imposition of men not by nature'). See also the defence of satire begun at S, II, 1, 1–4, p. 206, in R, fol. 76^f: *probat hoc genus carminis esse utile tractari dignum* ('he proves that this genre of poetry is worthy of being treated as useful'). On *probat* glosses compare the very similar ones examined by Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, pp. 55–6.

- 59 S, I, I, 51, p. 167. The F glossator also uses the term *aperte ostendit* in his introduction to S, I, 8, p. 197, fol. 50^r: *hic aperte ostendit eos stulte agere qui huiusmodi deos venerantur quorum materia et lignum et inutile* ('here he clearly shows that those who venerate gods of this kind made of useless wood act stupidly').

II NAKED INTENTION: SATIRE AND A NEW KIND OF LITERAL READING

- 1 The materials published in *MLTC* demonstrate very clearly the range of medieval hermeneutic positions.
- 2 See the useful introduction to *Piers Plowman*, eds., D. Pearsall and E. Salter, London, 1967, pp. 9–28 (p. 10). The merging of allegory and personification has been perpetuated most influentially in the work of C. S. Lewis; on this point and for further bibliography see H. R. Jauss, 'La transformation de la forme allégorique entre 1180 et 1240; D'Alain de Lille à Guillaume de Lorris', in *L'Humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du xii^e au xiv^e siècle*, ed. A. Fourrier, Paris, 1964, pp. 107–46 (pp. 112–13); J. Pépin, *La tradition de l'allégorie de Philon d'Alexandrie à Dante*, Paris, 1987, pp. 255–6.
- 3 For an excellent analysis of *allegoria* the trope and the problems it poses in the trivium, see G. C. Alessio, 'L'allegoria nei trattati di grammatica e di retorica', in *Dante e le forme dell'allegoresi*, ed. M. Picone, Ravenna, 1987, pp. 21–41, which focusses particularly on Kilwardby's commentary on the *Barbarismus* and the *Admirantes* gloss on the *Doctrinale* (both mid-thirteenth-century commentaries which exhibit how difficult it is to distinguish grammar and rhetoric in the teaching of the tropes). Kilwardby points out the inconsistency of classifying a figure based on contrariety among the tropes which are grounded in similitude: see *In Donati*, p. 165.
- 4 *Ad Herennium*, IV, xxxiv, 46, p. 344.
- 5 For detailed discussion and further reading on antiphrasis see Knox, *Ironia*, pp. 158–69.
- 6 *Antiphrasis est unius verbi ironia, ut bellum, lucus et Parcae, bellum, hoc est minime bellum, et lucus eo quod non luceat, et Parcae eo quod nulli parcant: Barbarismus*, p. 672. Compare Bede, *De schematibus*, p. 162, where the example is of Christ calling Judas *Amice* (friend): Matthew xxvi, 50.
- 7 See *Etymologiae*, I, xxix, 3 for the etymology of contraries, and I, xxxvii, 24 for the trope.
- 8 Citation from *Doctrinale*, p. 171; see also *Grecismus*, p. 9. See also Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria*, p. 185, where this trope is considered of little importance: *de minus ventilata*.
- 9 T fol. 81^r, p. 223.
- 10 *Scholia*, ad loc., vol. II, p. 191: *Addictus, condemnatus. Qui se vendunt ludo, auctorati vocantur: auctoratio enim dicitur venditio gladiatorum* ('Someone bound over or condemned. Those who sell themselves for the games are called *auctorati*: moreover the *auctoratio* is the sale of gladiators').
- 11 R fol. 89^v, p. 244.
- 12 See *Barbarismus*, p. 672. For discussion see Knox, *Ironia*, pp. 9–11.
- 13 *Etymologiae*, I, xxxvii, 23. See also *Grecismus*, p. 9 and *Doctrinale*, p. 172.

- 14 For M see S, I, 2, 31 (fol. 122^r, p. 170) and 34 (fol. 122^r, p. 171) and I, 5, 69 (fol. 126^r, p. 189); for R I, 5, 69 (fol. 69^r, p. 189); for F see I, 6, 110 (fol. 49^v, p. 194); for C see II, 2, 30 (fol. 49^v, p. 211) and for MS Périgueux, B.M.1, 1, 61 (fol. 109^r, p. 167 and I, 1, 80 (fol. 109^v, p. 168). Bede's illustration of *ironia* seems to accord with the narrative type, for it concerns the reported acclamation that Baal is God, something that the writer of the III Kings, xviii, 27 did not of course believe. See *De schematibus*, p. 162. P. Miller, 'John Gower, Satiric Poet', in Gower's '*Confessio amantis*': Responses and Reassessments, ed. A. J. Minnis, Woodbridge, 1983, pp. 79-105 (p. 81) points out that medieval views of satire considered it a highly ironical genre; see also Knox, *Ironia*, p. 87-8.
- 15 *Barbarismus*, p. 673; *Etymologiae*, I, xxxvii, 28; *De schematibus*, pp. 163-4.
- 16 Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores*, p. 120, trans. in *MLTC*, p. 62.
- 17 See *Ars versificatoria*, pp. 49-50; *Poetria nova*, p. 201 and *Laborintus*, p. 347.
- 18 *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 159: *Aesopi fabula, quas duas peras dicit habere posse mortales. In illo postremo sua vitia, in primo aliena cognoscimus facilius; nostra enim videre vix possumus*. See also Porphyryon, *Commentarii*, p. 259: *hoc ideo, quia Aesopus tradit homines duas manticas habere, unam ante se, aliam retro. in priorem aliena vitia mittimus, ideo et videmus facile; in posteriorem nostra, quae abscondimus et videre nolumus*. The fable is part of the collection known under the name Phaedrus and which appears to have been lost to the Middle Ages. The scholia are therefore the most likely source. See L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, 5 vols., Paris, 1893-1899, vol. II, p. 46 for the text and vol. I, p. 38 for details of the collection's *fortuna*.
- 19 C fol. 53^v; S, II, 3, 299, p. 228.
- 20 R fol. 71^v: S, I, 7, 19-20, p. 196
- 21 R fol. 66^r S, I, 4, 36-8, p. 182.
- 22 *MLTC*, pp. 205-7. The term was used principally in biblical exegesis.
- 23 The passage on allegory as a trope is *De schematibus*, pp. 161-4, the expanded discussion, pp. 164-9. Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 58, makes complementary points about Bede's views of allegory.
- 24 A very clear explanation of these various kinds of allegory is given in Zygmunt G. Barański, 'La Commedia', in *Manuale di letteratura italiana: Storia per generi e problemi*, vol. I, 'Dalle origini alla fine dell Quattrocento', Turin, 1993, pp. 494-500; Barański, 'La lezione esegetica di *Inferno* I: Allegoria, Storia et Letteratura nella *Commedia*', in Picone, ed., *Dante e le forme dell'allegoresi*, pp. 79-97 explores how these different levels might work in the composition of a text. For the *verbis-factis* distinction see in particular A. Strubel, '*Allegoria in factis et allegoria in verbis*', *Poétique*, 23 (1975), 342-57; J. Whitman, *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 128-9.
- 25 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, II, x, 15, ed. J. Martin, CCL 32, Turnhout, 1962, p. 41; on this see Strubel, '*Allegoria in factis et allegoria in verbis*'.
- 26 For a summary of the varieties of allegory see Allen, *The Friar as Critic*, pp. 6-7 (if we compare Bede's scheme with the typology proposed in Allen's study, verbal allegory seems to correspond to literal allegory and factual allegory to spiritual allegory); for discussions of factual allegory see E. Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W. R. Trask, Princeton, 1953, pp. 156-8 and 194-8 in particular; Whitman, *Allegory*, surveys

- the issues from Antiquity to the twelfth century and looks at the world and the Bible as God's two texts pp. 126-31.
- 27 The division of two types of allegory is developed in the thirteenth century into the allegory of the poets and the allegory of the theologians; for clear summary and bibliography see *MLTC*, pp. 382-7, which rightly emphasises how complex the terminology and issues are.
 - 28 William's commentary is still unedited and I rely on extracts printed in P. Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, Leiden, 1974. Macrobius' text is conveniently translated: see Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. W. H. Stahl, London and New York, repr. 1990.
 - 29 Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 14.
 - 30 See Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 16 and p. 68.
 - 31 See *Ad Herennium*, I, viii, 13, p. 22. This tri-partite distinction is used by Servius in his commentary on Virgil, which seems in turn to be the source for Isidore's differentiation of the kinds of story (*de generibus historiae*) in the final section of his book on *grammatica*; see Servius, *Commentarii*, Harvard edition, vol. II, p. 128 on *Aeneid*, I, 235; *Etymologiae*, I, xlv, 5; both texts see the *fabula* as *contra naturam*.
 - 32 Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 18 and p. 69.
 - 33 See *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, eds. J. W. Jones and E. F. Jones, Lincoln, Nebraska and London, 1977, p. 3; these editors express their doubts about the authorship, pp. ix-xi. Recently, Baswell, 'The Medieval Allegorisation of the *Aeneid*' argued that this commentary is likely to be the work of an English Chartrian. On the notion of *integumentum* and its synonym *involucrum* see Dronke, *Fabula*, pp. 25-32 and 56-7; T. Gregory, 'The Platonic Inheritance', in *HTCWP*, pp. 54-80 (pp. 57-9); E. Jeuneau, 'L'usage de la notion d'*integumentum* à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches', *AHDLMA*, 24 (1957), 35-100; J. A. Dane, '*Integumentum* as Interpretation: a note on William of Conches' commentary on Macrobius', *Classical Folia* (formerly *Folia*), 32 (1978), 201-15.
 - 34 Translation from Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 26; text, pp. 70-1.
 - 35 This notion of rehabilitation is important for allegory in general: see M. W. Bloomfield, 'Allegory as Interpretation', *New Literary History*, 3 (1972), 301-17 (pp. 301-2) and R. W. Hanning, 'I shal finde it in a maner glose: Versions of Textual Harrassment in Medieval Literature', in L. A. Finke and M. B. Schichtmann, eds., *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, Ithaca and London, 1987, pp. 27-50 (p. 29).
 - 36 See P. Demats, *Fabula: trois études de mythographie antique et médiévale*, Publications romanes et françaises 122, Geneva, 1973, pp. 3-7; Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 19; Gregory, 'The Platonic Inheritance', pp. 57-9; for integument as 'secular allegory' see *MLTC*, p. 120. Conrad's comments on Aesop equate the mode of signifying of some Aesopic fables with more obviously integumental, cosmographic *fabulae*: see *Dialogus*, pp. 84-5 (trans. *MLTC*, p. 47).
 - 37 MS s fol. 64^v, p. 236
 - 38 S, I, 1, 68-70, p. 167; M fol. 121^r, F fol. 43^r.
 - 39 S, I, 7, 27, p. 196.

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- 40 *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 92; Porphyrius, *Commentarii*, p. 228 is content to see the speed of the river as a figure for the power of the invective.
- 41 c fol. 46^r.
- 42 S, II, 3, 60, p. 218, R fol. 80^r; neither Pseudo-Acron, *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 142 or Porphyrius, *Commentarii*, p. 252 use the term *fabula* at this point. The glossator of s expands (fol. 58^v) upon this passage in some detail but does not term the narrative a *fabula*.
- 43 S, II, 6, 10-13, p. 238; R fol. 87^r.
- 44 *Etymologiae*, I, xl, 2-6; Priscian, *Praeexercitamina*, pp. 33-4.
- 45 See principally P. H. Hasubek, ed., *Die Fabel: Theorie, Geschichte und Rezeption einer Gattung*, Berlin, 1982; B. E. Perry, 'The Origins of the Epimythium', *TAPA*, 71 (1940), 391-419, and 'Fable', *Studium generale*, 12 (1959), 17-37. For the *Novus Aesopus* see Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, vol. II, pp. 392-416 and for the *Novus Avianus*, vol. III, pp. 462-7.
- 46 For a survey with further bibliography see J. Mann, 'La letteratura favolistica', in Leonardi and Orlandi, eds., *Aspetti della letteratura nel secolo XIII*, pp. 193-219 (pp. 193-6); K. Gröbmüller, *Meister Esopus: Untersuchungen der Geschichte und Funktion der Fabel im Mittelalter*, Zurich and Munich 1977, pp. 87-97 for the fable as a school text.
- 47 For contemporary comments on Avianus see Huygens, *Accessus*, p. 22 (trans. *MLTC*, p. 16) and Conrad, *Dialogus*, pp. 86-7 (trans. *MLTC*, pp. 49-50).
- 48 S, II, 6, 79-117, pp. 240-1.
- 49 S, II, 5, 56, p. 235, R fol. 86^r; see Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 69. William interprets the fable as a criticism on *sapientes* who when they keep their mouths closed are deemed to be wise, but when they open them to speak appear stupid.
- 50 Versions of this fable can be found in Hervieux, *Les fabulistes*, vol. II, p. 11, pp. 136, 168, 210, 236, 322, as part of Nequam's *Novus aesopus*, p. 406; for Odo of Cheriton's christianised version see vol. IV, p. 242. A much later Middle English version exists as part of Caxton's collection of fables; see Caxton's *Aesop*, ed. R. T. Lenaghan, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, pp. 83-4.
- 51 Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores*, p. 52. Differentiations of the *Epistles* and the *Satires* often state that the former were written to those who are absent (*ad absentes*) the latter to those who are present (*ad presentes*); see the collection of texts in S. Reynolds, 'Dante and the Medieval Theory of Satire', in Z. G. Barański, ed., '*Libri poetarum in quattuor species dividuntur*'; *Essays on Dante and Genre*, 1996, pp. 145-57.
- 52 See C. A. Van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory*, Leiden, 1965, pp. xii-xiii for Diomedes text, discussed in full in the first chapter. On this tradition see also C. A. Knight, 'Imagination's Cerberus: Satire and the Metaphor of Genre', *Philological Quarterly*, 69 (1990), 131-51, and P. Miller, 'John Gower, Satiric Poet', p. 80. For ideas of the copiousness of satire see U. Kindermann, *Satyra: Die Theorie der Satire im Mittelalterlichen. Vorstudien zu einer Gattungsgeschichte*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 58, Nuremberg, 1978, pp. 31-40. In the Pseudo-Acronian *Scholia*, we find only the derivation from the sacrificial dish (*lanx*); see *Scholia*, vol. II, p. 7; in Isidore, *Etymologiae*, VIII, vii, 7 we find the satyrs, at VIII, vii, 8, the dish, and at v, xvi a new derivation *a saturitate*, because the satyrs were often drunk.

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Neither author includes Diomedes' further derivations from a kind of stuffing with many ingredients and from a law with many clauses and these etymologies are lost to medieval writers.

- 53 See Conrad, *Dialogus*, p. 76: *a satyris dictum nudis et ridentibus* (trans. MLTC, p. 44); William of Conches, *Glosae in Juvenalem*, pp. 90–91; on the commentary in general see MLTC, pp. 116–18 with translated text, pp. 134–50. The F glossator mentions only the etymologies of the dish and the law in his introduction to *Satires II*, 1 (fol. 52^v).
- 54 *Glosae in Juvenalem*, p. 90 (trans. MLTC, p. 137).
- 55 Quoted by Wilson in his introduction to the *Glosae in Juvenalem*, p. 45 and translated MLTC, p. 116.
- 56 ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.l. 350, fol. 47^v; Munk Olsen, vol. 1, p. 490. The text is extremely faded and readable only under ultraviolet. I am unable to decipher the word in curly brackets, but the meaning of the passage is still clear. For the whole text see Reynolds, 'Dante and the Medieval Theory of Satire'. Compare the Persius *accessus* in Kindermann, *Satyra*, pp. 199–200 (p. 199): *satyra nuda est. Non enim per obvolutiones aut ambages, sed nude et aperte reprehendit, et vitia denudat et reteggit* ('satire is nude. It does not reprehend through involutions and ambiguities but openly and nakedly and strips bare and lays open vices').
- 57 Ovid, *Contre Ibis*, ed. and trans. J. André, Paris, 1963, p. 24. There are no verbal echoes in this story as it is told in the *Metamorphoses*, and I have been unable to locate a similar phrase in Virgil.
- 58 *Scholia in P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibin*, ed. A. La Penna, Florence, 1959, p. 133.
- 59 C. Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1989, traces the identification of the text with the female body from patristic writing into medieval Latin and vernacular texts.
- 60 *Dialogus*, p. 119; quoted in Kindermann, *Satyra*, p. 108.
- 61 Here I am in complete agreement with the work of P. Miller as cited in MLTC, p. 117, n. 15, and his 'John Gower, Satiric Poet', p. 81 where he comments that in the reading of Roman satire in the Middle Ages, 'allegory was eschewed'.
- 62 ms Oxford, Bodleian Library, Magdalen College, lat. 15, quoted in K. Friis-Jensen, '*Horatius lyricus et ethicus*', p. 112. For satire and reprehension see Kindermann, *Satyra*, pp. 40–73.
- 63 This is Miller's phrase in 'John Gower, Satiric Poet', p. 81.
- 64 S, II, 1, 1, p. 206; R fol. 76^r.
- 65 S, I, 3, 96–8, p. 178; R fol. 65^r.
- 66 S, I, 8, p. 197; C fol. 46^r.
- 67 See for example *Ad Herennium*, I, ii, 2, p. 4. Curtius states that epideictic was crucial for medieval literature (ELLMA, p. 69 and p. 155), but the precise mechanisms of this are still unexplored.
- 68 This is a vast topic and I give no more than essential references. Thirteenth-century Averroistic theory departs from its Aristotelian exemplar in positing praise and blame as the function of poetry: see J. B. Allen, 'Hermann the German's Averroistic Aristotle', *Mosaic*, 9 (1976), 67–81 (pp. 68–71), and MLTC, pp. 280–2 and 289. For poetry and ethics in general see J. B. Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction*,

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- Toronto, 1982, and Ph. Delhay, 'L'enseignement de la philosophie morale au xii^e siècle', *Mediaeval Studies*, 11 (1949), 77-99.
- 69 For the role of the *cui parti philosophiae supponitur*? part of the *accessus* see Young, 'Chaucer's Appeal to the Platonic Deity', pp. 4-10; a good selection of such *accessus* is given in *MLTC*, pp. 15-36, with discussion of this question pp. 13-14.
- 70 These examples are given in M.-D. Chenu, 'Horace chez les théologiens', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 24 (1935), 462-5.
- 71 *S*, I, 3, 69-71, p. 177, R fol. 64v.
- 72 See Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 55-6 for how the category of intention is applied to collections of poems and individual poems within a collection (eg. the Psalter, Ovid's *Heroides*, and of course Horace's *Satires*) and pp. 109-10 for its guaranteeing of the 'correct' interpretation; see Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 187-8 for intention as a means of unifying texts.
- 73 MS H, fol. 69^r; compare the *accessus* in MS Vatican City, B.A.V., Barb. lat 65, fol. 38^r: *Intentio, vicium improbare*.
- 74 *S*, I, 1, p. 165; fol. 61^r.
- 75 F fol. 59^v, p. 237.
- 76 See B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn, Oxford, 1983, p. 300, and Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 85.
- 77 On this notion of the relationship of text and gloss see G. L. Bruns, 'The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture', *Comparative Literature*, 32 (1980), 113-29 (pp. 120-1), and P. Zumthor, 'La glose créatrice', in *Les commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire*, eds. G. Mathieu-Castellani and M. Plaisance, Actes du Colloque International sur le Commentaire, Paris, 1990, pp. 11-18 (p. 14).
- 78 I have been greatly helped in formulating these ideas by P. Bagni, 'Grammatica e retorica nella cultura medievale', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1974), 267-80 (pp. 277-80).
- 79 I refer here of course to the work of Alastair Minnis, particularly *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, chapter 3.

12 LITERACY: A NEW MODEL FOR THE CLASSICAL TEXT IN THE
MIDDLE AGES?

- 1 Jerome, *Epistles*, ed. I. Hilberg, 3 vols., Vienna and Leipzig, 1910-18, vol. I, p. 189.
- 2 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, II, xl, 60, p. 76.
- 3 The most recent example of this long scholarly tradition is Aldo Scaglione, 'The Classics in Medieval Education', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. Bernardo and S. Levin, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 69, Binghampton, 1990, pp. 343-62. For a striking example of corruption by the classics in the eleventh century see Hariulf, *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, IV, 13, ed. Ferdinand Lot, Paris, 1894, p. 208 (French translation by Le Marquis Le Ver, *Chronicon Centulense ou Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, Mémoires de la Société d'émulation d'Abbeville, Abbeville, 1899, pp. 219-20), where the misfortunes of Gervinus, abbot of Centula from 1045 to 1074, are recounted. We are told that Gervinus was devoted to the study of

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literature from his early years, when he studied grammar at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Rheims. I am very grateful to Barrie Singleton for pointing this passage out to me. Even Alexander Nequam betrays this anxiety, particularly when it comes to Ovid; see the *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*, in Hunt, *Teaching and Learning*, vol. 1, p. 270: *Placuit tamen viris autenticis carmina amatoria ... subducenda esse a manibus adolescentium* ('Nevertheless, it is the wish of certain authoritative men that the love poetry [of Ovid] should ... be kept out of the hand of adolescents').

- 4 R fol. 72^f, p. 197.
- 5 R fol. 72^f.
- 6 Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, xii, xlv, 104, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 73A, Turnhout, 1963, p. 500, on Isaiah 44, 6-7.
- 7 O fols. 34^f-51^f; for a full description see C. H. Kneepkens, 'The Quaestiones grammaticales of the MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 250; An edition of the first collection', *Vivarium*, 21 (1983), 1-34 (pp. 2-3). The *accessus* is discussed in R. W. Hunt, 'The Introduction to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, pp. 117-44 (pp. 133-4).
- 8 O fol. 34^{ra}. This passage is extremely difficult to read.
- 9 Ralph of Beauvais, *Glose super Donatum*, p. xxii; Fredborg, 'Speculative Grammar', p. 177; Hunt, '*Absoluta*', p. 99.
- 10 *Doctrinale*, p. 7 and Alexander Nequam, *Corrogationes Promethei*, in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 550, fol. 1^{rb}: *minus instructos informare volo* ('I want to inform the less instructed'); Kneepkens, 'Master Guido and his Views on Government', p. 123. The distinction also operated in the art of rhetoric; see Kelly, 'The Scope of the Treatment of Composition', p. 262.
- 11 See MS L fol. 49^{rb}, quoted in Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', in Hunt, *Collected Papers*, p. 76, n. 5. For the problem of the article see Chapter 5, pp. 68-72 above.
- 12 See Petrus Hispanus, *Absoluta*, p. 2.
- 13 *Summa*, ed. Tolson, p. 121; see also p. 45. The example is *Aeneid*, xii, 161.
- 14 See G. L. Bruns, 'The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture', *Comparative Literature*, 32 (1980), 113-29 (p. 120), and Reynolds, 'Inventing Authority'.
- 15 The same point is argued in Hexter, '*Latinitas* in the Middle Ages', pp. 74-8.

Select bibliography

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

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AI. (i) Key

- A Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 711
- B London, British Library, Add. 16380
- C Cambridge, Peterhouse 229
- F Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutarch 34:14
- G Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 385/605
- H London, British Library, Harley 3534
- J Cambridge, St John's College D. 12
- K London, British Library, Add. 15832
- L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud lat. 67
- M Saint-Claude, Bibliothèque Municipale 2
- O Oxford, Corpus Christi College 250
- P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 8216
- R Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1780
- S Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1729
- T Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboni lat. 1660
- V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3259 (v)
- W Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 15130
- Z Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 7492

AI. (ii) Horace manuscripts

- Cambridge, Peterhouse 229 (C)
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutarch 34:14 (F)
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Ar. (iii) Grammatical and rhetorical manuscripts

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Discendum est de regimine nominis, K, fols. 34^{ra}–44^{vb}
Omnis traditio, O, fols. 34^r–51^r
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Verba preceptiva, B, fols. 120^{ra}–123^{va}
By author:
Alexander Nequam, *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*, G, pp. 7–67
 Corrogationes Promethei, in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 550
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 Liber equivocorum, Cambridge, St John's College F. 10, fols. 20^r–31^r
Osbern of Gloucester, *Liber derivationum sive Panormia*, Z, fols. 1–103^v
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